

HUMANITARIAN RELIEF: AMERICAN HUMANITARIANISM AND GREAT
POWER DECISION MAKING

by
Holden D. Simmonds

A thesis submitted to Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts in Government

Baltimore, Maryland
August 2019

©2019 Holden Simmonds
All Rights Reserved

Abstract

Humanitarian relief operations are among the most popular uses of a government, but despite this, not all disasters receive international attention. This thesis' goal is to explore the question: why do countries participate in humanitarian relief operations? International relationships are complicated and messy affairs, and the decision to deliver aid to another country is equally as difficult. However, it is essential to understand why and how countries participate in relief operations, because they happen with such frequency. Each section of this thesis explores a different aspect of humanitarian relief operations. First, the United States has a strong history of humanitarianism. The roots of this belief system came from the Declaration of Independence which laid out the basic rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all of mankind. Herbert Hoover demonstrated through his humanitarian works that there are individual and religious trends to America's relief operations. Second, the United States' standard for participation also draws influence from the international community and soft power objectives. Both the 2005 Indian Ocean Tsunami and the 2011 Japanese Tsunami identify that the United States both responds to international pressure, and supports close allies in need. Lastly, China's decision making for relief operations is explored. The People's Republic of China (PRC) historically donated much less than the rest of the international community despite their booming economy. This is because China does not believe that humanitarian relief is a critical aspect to their current economic push, the Belt and Road initiative. Rather, China has responded to disasters rapidly with rescue teams, and then departed the area quickly after meeting minimum objectives. The results of this study identify that the United States will

continue its leadership in this role while China will continue to ignore international pressure to change its ways.

Advisors:

Dr. Dorothea Wolfson

Dr. Ken Masugi

Dr. Douglas Harris

Dr. Jacob Straus

Preface

I extend a special thank you to all of the professors who helped me along the way.

Ultimately, this was a family victory, and I would like to express thanks to my loving wife, Barbra for her patience these last two and a half years. She inspired me through twelve classes, two deployments, Aircraft Commander upgrade training, and Squadron Officer School. All of this encouragement came while she went through a pregnancy and a half, selflessly chose family over career, and raised our first son, Arthur. Without her, I never could have accomplished this. Thank you, Barb! To both my children, you inspire me to work harder. This is for you.

Table of Contents

Page 1 – Thesis Introduction

Page 11 - Chapter 1: The Humanitarian Tradition in the United States: From the Declaration of Independence to Herbert Hoover

Page 42 - Chapter 2: The United States and Humanitarian Relief Decision Making

Page 71 - Chapter 3: China and Humanitarian Relief Decision Making

Page 96 - Conclusion

References

Page 104 - Figure 1

Page 105 - Figure 2

Page 106 - Figure 3

Page 107 – Figure 4

Page 108 - Bibliography

Page 116 - Curriculum Vita

Thesis Introduction

On December 24, 2004, a magnitude 9.1 earthquake struck the Indian Ocean off the coast of Sumatra.¹ The central location of the earthquake sent a series of tsunamis with 65-100 foot tall waves directly to the Indonesian coastline.² The unstoppable momentum behind these walls of water rolled over the province of Aceh, Indonesia, and crushed everything in its path.³ After the waters subsided, over 320,000 residents of Banda Aceh (the capital near the coastline) were either killed, injured, or homeless. After striking the Indonesian city, the tsunami continued its expansion throughout the Indian Ocean. Ultimately the disaster “kill[ed] over 230,000 people and displac[ed] 1.7 million across 14 countries.”⁴ When the waves and aftershocks finally receded, the world rapidly responded with support. In one of the largest relief efforts in the history of mankind, the international community donated over \$13.5 billion in aid.⁵ Millions of people from around the world contributed to the efforts. The decision for a country to participate in humanitarian relief operations seems straight forward, but the reality shows something deeper. This thesis’ goal is to explore the question: why do countries participate in humanitarian relief operations?

Each countries’ response to a humanitarian disaster is different, and this paper seeks to find the trends in their decision making process. There is always the potential for

1. “Magnitude 9.1 – Off Coast of Northern Sumatra,” *United States Geological Survey*, accessed July 22, 2018, <https://web.archive.org/web/20120817004055/http://earthquake.usgs.gov/earthquakes/eqinthenews/2004/us2004slav/>.

2. Helen Gibbons and Guy Gelfenbaum, “Astonishing Wave Heights Among the Findings of an International Tsunami Survey Team on Sumatra,” *United States Geological Survey*, last updated March, 2005,

3. Ibid.

4. Eddie Bernard, “Tsunamis: Are We Underestimating the Risk?,” *Oceanography* 25, no. 2 (2012): 208.

5. Ibid.

natural disasters to strike, and the consequences of poor relief support are dire. In fact, “between 1980 and 2004, two million people were reported killed and five billion people cumulatively [were] affected by around 7,000 natural disasters.”⁶ International relationships are complicated and messy affairs, and competing national interests make the decision to help other countries difficult. It is essential to understand why and how countries participate in relief operations because there is such a great risk for any country to be struck by a natural disaster. If nations can understand what factors contribute to successful international support, then they better respond when a disaster strikes in order to save more lives.

This thesis is divided into three parts. Each section explores a different aspect of humanitarian relief operations, and each chapter has its own research question to answer. For the course of this paper, humanitarian relief is defined as the monetary funds, people, and equipment provided by a certain government to a different country or territory that has been struck by a natural disaster. Initially, this paper explores the background of American humanitarianism to gain an understanding of this vital political movement. It then delves into an examination of the modern decision making process of the United States and China. Each chapter builds on the basic understanding of what it means to be a humanitarian country. The final goal is to better understand the history of humanitarian relief and to gain an improved understanding of modern decision making for relief operations. All three chapters utilize various case studies to establish trends that support each section’s final argument.

The first chapter explores the concept of humanitarianism in politics and aims to

6. David Stromberg, “Natural Disasters, Economic Development, and Humanitarian Aid,” *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 21, no. 3 (2007): 199.

demonstrate that the United States has developed its own unique standard for humanitarianism. Historically, America is at the forefront of relief operations, and donates a significant amount of resources to disaster-stricken countries.⁷ In particular, this chapter answers the question: what is American humanitarianism, and what are the American standards for participating in aid operations? To answer this question, this chapter first examines the existing literature on humanitarianism in politics. It then analyzes American historical documents to set a cultural precedent, and lastly, it utilizes the life of The Great Humanitarian, Herbert Hoover as a case study.⁸ President Hoover was a man who exemplified American humanitarianism throughout his life, and the relief operations he led demonstrated the American standard for humanitarian participation.

The literature review identifies that humanitarian works utilize the resources of one person to alleviate the suffering of another, despite individual differences.⁹ Humanitarianism is a belief system, that, when entered into politics, requires a government to assist others in need. This is not solely an international issue, and governments must strive to prevent human suffering at home as well as abroad.¹⁰ Critics point out that humanitarian operations use moral excuses to hide other national objectives, and while this may be true, the United States has combined humanitarianism with America's national policy.¹¹ American humanitarianism's beginnings come from the Founding Fathers and the text of the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration

7. Vijaya Ramachandran and Julie Walz, "Haiti: Where Has All the Money Gone?," *Journal of Haitian Studies* 21, no. 1 (2015): 27.

8. Glen Jeansonne, *Herbert Hoover: A Life*, (New York: Berkley, 2016), 149.

9. Didier Fassin, "The Predicament of Humanitarianism," *Qui Parle: Critical Humanities and Social Sciences* 22, no. 1 (2013): 38.

10. Aditi Surie von Czechowski, "Humanitarianism: Histories, Erasures, Repetitions," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 3, no 3 (2017): 614.

11. Roberto Belloni, "The Trouble with Humanitarianism," *Review of International Studies* 33, no. 3 (2007): 453.

outlines the basic human rights of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” and the Founding Fathers intended that the United States would spread them throughout the world.¹² The applicability of the contents of the Declaration have been debated by politicians for years, but there is a trend in its usage.

President Abraham Lincoln referenced the Declaration to denounce slavery, and claimed all men, regardless of race, deserve basic rights.¹³ His argument focused on American’s rights at home, but he drew parallels with the humanitarian concept of equality for all. Next, Albert Beveridge argued that the United States needed to expand its influence to countries that could not take care of themselves. Beveridge was an imperialist, so a considerable amount of his message did not last, but he did argue that the United States was a leader in the world who had Divine guidance to spread these ideals around the globe, an idea that still has support to this day.¹⁴ Lastly, President Woodrow Wilson did not believe in a direct interpretation of the Declaration, and instead argued that its only relevance in modern times was through its spirit. He argued that big businesses were the new form of tyranny, and the spirit of our Founding Fathers’ message can guide legislation to defend the American people.¹⁵ All three of these politicians used the Declaration of Independence as a guide to justify the protection of the basic rights of life, liberty, and happiness around the world, and this belief is the basis for American humanitarianism.

12. “Declaration of Independence,” *U.S. History.org*, July 4th, 1776, <http://www.ushistory.org/declaration/document/>.

13. Abraham Lincoln, “A Question of Veracity,” (speech, Chicago, Illinois, July 10, 1858), <http://www.mrlincolnanfreedom.org/pre-civil-war/house-divided-speech/speech-at-chicago-july-10-1858/>.

14. Albert J. Beveridge, “March of the Flag,” (speech, September 16, 1898), <http://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/beveridge-march-of-the-flag-speech-text/>.

15. Woodrow Wilson, “What is Progress,” in *The New Freedom: Chapter 2*, (1913), <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/what-is-progress/>.

Herbert Hoover is then used as a case study because he epitomized the ideal American humanitarian, and his relief operations made him a national hero. Unfortunately, Hoover's influence in this area is often lost as his reputation is generally based on his mishandling of the Great Depression. This chapter seeks to change that narrative and demonstrate that Hoover's legacy is properly placed with its lasting influence on humanitarian aid. Hoover's work as a humanitarian supports the American goals of life, liberty, and happiness for all because his policies affected millions of people both home and abroad.¹⁶ He navigated war-zones and inspired the nation to conserve food in order to feed others.¹⁷ He spread American ideals by giving people their most basic right, life. His humanitarian efforts demonstrated that a single individual can have a lasting impact on a nation, and highlighted that American humanitarianism relies on individual contributions and religious organizations to provide lasting relief to a disaster-stricken country.

The second chapter builds on the first, and focuses on the decision making of the United States in modern humanitarian relief operations. It examines the question: is the United States' decision to provide humanitarian relief affected by its existing relationship with the country involved or its need for influence in the region? To answer this question, the chapter first examines existing literature on decision making and humanitarian relief. It then examines two case studies: the 2005 Indian Ocean Tsunami and the 2011 Japanese Tsunami. America's strategic relationship to all of the countries involved in these events is inherently different, and the hypothesis is that the United States provided more total

16. George H. Nash, *The Life of Herbert Hoover: Master of Emergencies, 1917-1918*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996), 4.

17. Richard Norton Smith, *An Uncommon Man: The Triumph of Herbert Hoover*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), 89.

resources to the countries it has stronger relationships with.

The literature review reaches two primary reasons for why countries participate in relief and humanitarian efforts: moral obligation and soft power benefits. It also identifies two conclusions for why they do not provide aid: the legality of participation and the difficulties with implementing relief. A state's resources are limited, and utilizing any of them on another country must be carefully thought out with the pros and cons weighed. In support of aid operations is the argument that humanitarian relief participation is a morally appropriate decision that citizens can rally around. Additionally, relief provides an easy political victory for leaders who support it because it is so popular with constituents.¹⁸ Strategically, participation also increases that country's soft power in a region. "Aid, and its visibility, is an opportunity for the development of international relations and enhancing the reputation of a particular nation."¹⁹ These benefits must be carefully compared to the loss of resources provided to a complicated, inefficient system.²⁰ Governments will only participate in relief if it is in their best interest to do so, and even if a country decides to help, it is often unclear how much they can assist. Lastly, these decisions must be balanced with the danger of entering into a prolonged intervention. There is a high probability that relief efforts may last for years.²¹ This increases the overall cost, and further discourages participation in humanitarian operations.

To answer this chapter's research question the United States' relief operations in

18. James Thompson, "Humanitarian Performance and the Asian Tsunami," *The Drama Review* 55, no. 1, (2011): 72.

19. Ibid., 74.

20. John Holmes, "Humanitarian Response in the 21st Century," *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 17, no. 2 (2001): 115.

21. Ibid., 116.

the 2005 Indian Ocean Tsunami and the 2011 Japanese Tsunami are examined. The United States has a fundamentally different relationship with all of the countries that were involved in these disasters, and strategically they care about some more than others. The Indian Ocean serves as a strategic region for America because it has many ports and contains countries that, in 2005, the United States wanted as allies in the War on Terror.²² In contrast, Japan is a much closer ally in the region, and serves as the cornerstone of America's Asian presence because the United States has military bases located in the country.²³ Each of the four trends identified in the literature review are evident in both of these examples. The two most significant findings from the Indian Ocean tsunami are that the United States responded to international backlash after an initially low pledge of funds to save face, and they strategically provided funds to countries that were important to the War on Terror.²⁴ In Japan, America was much quicker to respond, and provided a significant amount of military personnel and resources quickly.²⁵ This could be due to the American presence already in Japan, or the United States government may have learned a lesson from their missteps with the Indian Ocean Tsunami.

The final chapter shifts the focus of humanitarian relief decision making from the United States to their strategic rival, China. China contributes much less than other developed countries to humanitarian relief operations. For example, in 2015, relief was

22. Jeffrey Lunstead, "The United States' Role in Sri Lanka's Peace Process 2002-2006," *The Asian Foundation*, (2007): 14.

23. Michael Wesley, "Japan: From Passive Partner to Active Ally," in *Global Allies: Comparing US Alliances in the 21st Century*, (ANU Press, 2017), 15.

24. U.N. Official Slams U.S. as 'Stingy' Over Aid," *The Washington Times*, last updated December 28, 2004, "Giant Waves Damage S Asia Economy," *BBC News*, last updated December 28, 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4127433.stm>.

25. Eric Talmadge, "US Military in Japan," *NBC News*, last updated March 27, 2011, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/42289464/ns/world_news-asia_pacific/t/disaster-aid-puts-new-face-us-military-japan/#.W1TT0yOZPq0.

“only 1.7% of [China’s] overall foreign aid budget.”²⁶ This paper seeks to answer the question: why does China contribute so little to disaster relief operations? The hypothesis is that China’s decision to provide relief is closely linked to their humanitarian aid priorities. In order to answer this, a literature review identifies the priorities of Chinese foreign policy, and then examines China’s decision making process for providing aid and nation building packages. Data on the People’s Republic of China’s (PRC) relief operations is limited due to government regulations, but there is sufficient information available to highlight trends through multiple case studies.

China’s current world-encompassing economic push is the Belt and Road Initiative, also called the One Belt One Road (OBOR). China’s vision for this initiative is to create a modern trade and infrastructure route comparable to the Silk Road that connected Asia to Europe.²⁷ This ambitious project consists of an “infrastructure-building plan of roads, railways, ports and industrial hubs to connect about 65 countries.”²⁸ Rather than concentrating trade efforts with Europe and Asia, this new Silk Road is global, and has a strong focus on Africa.²⁹

There is substantial literature available that analyzes many aspects of this initiative, and they identify three overarching themes to Chinese aid and nation-building projects. The first is that China cares little about international norms, and acts in a way the benefits their own agenda. Specifically in Africa, the PRC offers lucrative deals to

26. Miwa Hirono, *Exploring the Links Between Chinese Foreign Policy and Humanitarian Action: Multiple Interests, Processes, and Actors* (United Kingdom: Humanitarian Policy Group, 2018), 1.

27. *Ibid.*, 7.

28. Hong Zhao, “China’s Belt and Road Initiative and ASEAN,” *China: An International Journal* 17, no. 2, (2019):127.

29. Thokozani Simelane and R. Managa, *Belt and Road Initiative: Alternative Development Path for Africa* (Oxford: African Books Collective, 2018), 3.

underdeveloped countries with few requirements attached to them.³⁰ This directly competes with Western aid that usually requires these countries to change some aspects of their human rights or governing. Additionally, China provides aid to countries that the West frequently places sanctions on, like North Korea.³¹ The second theme in the literature is that the PRC primarily delivers relief in a way that improves their own economy. They focus on mutually beneficial economic packages, and any deals they make increase China's access to natural resources or trade routes.³² The last theme is that China utilizes humanitarian aid to increase their soft power throughout the world. They understand that they are behind western countries in the soft power race, and see their nation-building as a way to catch up with the United States.³³

As previously stated, data on China's humanitarian relief operations are limited, but there is enough information available to identify some clear trends in their decision making process. Ultimately, the PRC does not believe that humanitarian relief is a critical aspect to their OBOR initiative. In two of the examples provided (Japan and Haiti) China responded rapidly with rescue teams and pledged a low amount of aid. This led to positive headlines initially, but the Chinese quickly left the disaster area after this effort.³⁴ Of course, these initial actions also show to partner countries that China is not ignoring them, but it seems like China does the bare minimum to demonstrate their support. Ultimately, their low pledges and quick departures led to negative international attention,

30. Ngaire Woods, "Whose Aid? Whose Influence? China, Emerging Donors and the Silent Revolution in Developmental Assistance," *International Affairs* 84, no. 6 (2008): 1210.

31. James Reilly, "The Curious Case of China's Aid to North Korea," *Asian Survey* 54, no. 6 (2014): 1164.

32. Ibid., 1183.

33. Mikail Kalimuddin and David Anderson, "Soft Power in China's Security Strategy," *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 12, no. 3 (2018): 115.

34. "Aid Begins Flowing to Haiti." *CNN*. Last modified January 14, 2010.

<http://edition.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/americas/01/13/haiti.aid.response/index.html>.

but China failed to succumb to it. Economically, humanitarian relief is not beneficial to them like their aid programs are, and China focuses its resources on nation-building projects with mutually beneficial economic agreements. In regards to soft power, the PRC does not value the gains that relief provides. Rather, they believe that because they invest so much already in aid and nation-building, they are already improving their soft power.

This thesis' primary goal is to better understand why countries participate or do not participate in humanitarian relief operations. The United States has a clear cultural connection to humanitarian acts. This relationship can be traced back to the Founding Fathers and there are specific examples of its use throughout America's history. When the United States provides aid, it is supported through its citizens and their beliefs. The government's decision to participate leans on this support and draws influence from the country's strategic objectives. In contrast to the United States, China sees little value in humanitarian relief operations. They do the bare minimum to maintain the relationships that they have, and, unlike the United States, do not succumb to international pressure. This paper reaffirms that a country's decision to participate in humanitarian relief operations is complicated, and individual countries have different criteria to determine their participation.

Chapter 1

The Humanitarian Tradition in the United States: From the Declaration of Independence to Herbert Hoover

On January 12th, 2010 a magnitude 7.0 earthquake struck the Haiti coastline.³⁵ In an instant, around 250,000 people were killed, and the remaining 1.5 million survivors found themselves isolated and without basic amenities.³⁶ The international community instantly announced their support, and the event “provoked a spectacular wave of humanitarianism” around the world.³⁷ In the end, over \$13.34 billion was donated from international groups to support the Haitian tragedy.³⁸ From the United States, President Obama “solemnly declared less than forty- eight hours after the event that the Haitian people would not be ‘forsaken’ or ‘forgotten.’”³⁹ To back up this claim, the President pledged 5,000 troops and \$100 million dollars in relief support.⁴⁰ This action was praised around the world, and the soldiers and volunteer workers in Haiti gained fame for “their courage, their dedication, their exhaustion, their vision of the disaster, and their understanding of the suffering.”⁴¹ Throughout the first year of relief operations the the United States government and its people donated 50 percent of the total international relief to Haiti. They sent \$3.1 billion in aid to, compared to the nearly \$3 billion sent by the rest of the world.⁴² In fact, the next largest pledge (most of which had not been

35. “Haiti Earthquake Fast Facts,” *CNN*, last modified December 27, 2018.

<https://edition.cnn.com/2013/12/12/world/haiti-earthquake-fast-facts/index.html>.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Didier Fassin, “The Predicament of Humanitarianism,” *Qui Parle: Critical Humanities and Social Sciences* 22, no. 1 (2013): 33.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*, 36.

42. Vijaya Ramachandran and Julie Walz, “Haiti: Where Has All the Money Gone?,” *Journal of Haitian Studies* 21, no. 1 (2015): 27.

delivered to Haiti after the first year) was from Venezuela at \$1.1 billion.⁴³ These are just some modern examples of many that demonstrate American commitment to humanitarian relief operations, and they consistently outperform other civilized countries (Figures 2, 3, 4). The United States is clearly a leader in humanitarian relief operations, but where did the American tradition of humanitarianism come from and how is it sustained?

In 1803, Congress passed the Fire Disaster Relief Act that supported Portsmouth, New Hampshire to help the city recover from devastating fires. This example of lawmaking is “commonly regarded as the first piece of national disaster legislation” in America, and is the first example of many that demonstrate the United States’ commitment to care for its fellow man.⁴⁴ This chapter explores the historical roots of American humanitarianism. In particular, it will answer the question: what is American humanitarianism, and what are the American standards for participating in aid operations? To answer this question this chapter explores existing literature on humanitarianism, then analyzes American historical documents, and lastly, examines the life of The Great Humanitarian, Herbert Hoover, a man who embodied and even shaped many of the springs of humanitarianism that still characterize American responses to global disasters.⁴⁵ Herbert Hoover was a unique politician who, prior to becoming President, had never run for public office, but had gained national fame for his humanitarian work across the world. Ultimately, this chapter will use prior research and

43. Ibid., 30.

44. “Disaster Planning and Policies: Session 2: U.S. Disaster Policies: History and Institutions,” *FEMA*, accessed August 12, 2019, https://training.fema.gov/hiedu/docs/dpp/disaster%20plan-policies%20-%20session%20no%202%20-%20history%20and%20institutions_fema%20course.pdf.

45. Glen Jeansonne, *Herbert Hoover: A Life*, (New York: Berkley, 2016), 149.

source documents to define America's cultural standard for humanitarian relief operations.

Humanitarianism

The concept of humanitarianism is not new. It first entered politics as a viable governing theory at the start of the nineteenth century, and has slowly become more significant in governments around the world.⁴⁶ States utilize the belief of humanitarianism to defend their policy and global relations decision making, and it has now become a standard that has been set by international organizations such as the United Nations (UN). The UN even included it in their bylaws and its members vowed “to promote ‘universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms.’”⁴⁷ In the vast library of humanitarianism literature there are many different definitions of the term. They all come to similar conclusions, and the “etymology of the French word *humanité*...provides us a hint.”⁴⁸ This word has two interpretations. The first is that *humanité* “encompasses all human beings and forms the basis for a shared world,” and secondly, “it is an emotional movement toward others and translates into sympathy for their suffering.”⁴⁹ These interpretations highlight the theme of the literature definitions, that humanitarian works utilize the resources of one person to alleviate the suffering of another, despite individual differences.

Humanitarianism has strong roots in the world's religions. Judaism has various humanitarian organizations like the Ahavta and the American Jewish World Service that

46. Daniel Laqua, “Inside the Humanitarian Cloud,” *Journal of Modern European History* 12, no. 2 (2014): 175-176.

47. Alynna J. Lyon and Chris J. Dolan, “American Humanitarian Intervention: Toward a Theory of Coevolution,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3, no. 1 (2007): 48.

48. Didier Fassin, “The Predicament of Humanitarianism,” *Qui Parle: Critical Humanities and Social Sciences* 22, no. 1 (2013): 38.

49. Ibid.

seek to “repair the world” through the assistance of those in need.⁵⁰ These efforts are not new, and the major faiths around the world have preached the tenets of humanitarianism for centuries. In fact, while “modern humanitarianism arose in early nineteenth-century Europe, there were organized charitable societies in the Muslim world centuries before then.”⁵¹ Some humanitarianism was also “born of universal Christian love,” and its components have a strong connection to Christian teachings.⁵² In particular, the development of humanitarianism was furthered in the United States through Christianity. Throughout its teachings there are examples of humanitarian acts, and the “Christian views of love and care for one's neighbor are fundamental to a Western concept of humanitarianism.”⁵³ Throughout the Twentieth Century, faith-based organizations have had “significant influence” on humanitarian relief.⁵⁴ Members of these organizations draw influence from the New Testament, and utilize its messages as the “guiding charitable text for the Western world.”⁵⁵ As an example, the Good Samaritan parable is a guiding lesson for the distribution of aid within these organizations.⁵⁶ The Good Samaritan tells a story that highlights the Christian principle of assisting others in need. It highlights that a good Christian behaves “in a thoroughly compassionate manner,” and “gives freely of his own time, energy, and money to help” those who need it.⁵⁷

50. Michael Barnett and Janice Gross Stein, *Sacred Aid: Faith and Humanitarianism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 6.

51. Ibid.

52. Daniel Laqua, “Inside the Humanitarian Cloud,” *Journal of Modern European History* 12, no. 2 (2014): 176.

53. Laura C. Thaut, “The Role of Faith in Christian Faith-Based Humanitarian Agencies: Constructing the Taxonomy,” *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 20, no. 4 (2009): 322.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. Bharat Ranganathan, “On Helping One’s Neighbor,” *The Journal of Religious Ethics* 40, no. 4 (2012): 660.

Christianity is not a requirement for humanitarianism, but some Christian principles like the Good Samaritan, parallel the theory of humanitarianism. Regardless of individual beliefs, humanitarians are united to “enter into the everyday world to alleviate the pain of those who suffer,” and this deed incorporates any human in need.⁵⁸ Humanitarianism does not just draw its roots from Christianity, but there is also influence from other major religions.

A key component of humanitarianism is that it is universal. Assistance should be ““permanent, transnational, institutional, [and] neutral.””⁵⁹ Additionally, humanitarianism is not purely an international issue, and involves human suffering at home as well as abroad. Within the constructs of this belief system are two separate concepts:

“emergency and alchemical humanitarianism.”⁶⁰ Emergency help is temporary and designed to alleviate immediate suffering, while alchemical humanitarianism is general and seeks to better the entire world.⁶¹ Emergency humanitarianism is the theme of this paper, and comes in the form of aid that serves to help those in extremely distressful situations.⁶² It is “a short-term endeavor carried out ‘during and in the aftermath of emergencies’” such as natural disasters and genocide.⁶³ Emergency aid is unique because “it should be motivated by the sole aim of helping other humans affected by disasters, exclusively based on people’s needs and without any further discrimination, without

58. Michael Barnett and Janice Gross Stein, *Sacred Aid: Faith and Humanitarianism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 29.

59. Aditi Surie von Czebowski, “Humanitarianism: Histories, Erasures, Repetitions,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 3, no 3 (2017): 614.

60. Daniel Laqua, “Inside the Humanitarian Cloud,” *Journal of Modern European History* 12, no. 2 (2014): 177.

61. Ibid.

62. Jeremie Labbe, “Defining the Boundaries of the Humanitarian Enterprise,” (report International Peace Institute, 2012), 2.

63. Ibid.

favoring any side in a conflict or other dispute where aid is deployed, and free from any economic, political, or military interests at stake.”⁶⁴ These criteria are politically difficult to fulfill due to a state’s limited resources and a wide range of governmental responsibilities. When a country becomes humanitarian its policies and decision making should focus on everyone at home and abroad.⁶⁵ Unfortunately, this is not how it usually occurs, and oftentimes, governments neglect certain groups in need. This has led to claims that humanitarianism is “an inconsistent policy practice.”⁶⁶ These assertions are part of a larger debate on what role humanitarianism plays in international politics.

When humanitarianism is allowed in politics it is difficult to identify what role it actually fulfills, and, for this reason, humanitarianism has supporters and critics. Supporters believe that participation in relief operations answers a nation’s higher calling, and they “highlight how humanitarianism is a sign of progress towards human freedom and emancipation.”⁶⁷ They see the global social benefits of assisting those in need, and argue that it is a government’s role to support this objective. Alternatively, “critics denounce what they perceive as the vicious effects of humanitarianism, notably the misuse of humanitarian aid,” and argue that humanitarianism leads to its own human rights violations.⁶⁸ They contend that large countries can use humanitarian aid as an excuse to get involved in the affairs of a smaller nations. These stronger countries, like the United States, use humanitarianism as “a moral cover for” their own strategic

64. Ibid., 2-3.

65. Ibid.

66. Alynna J. Lyon and Chris J. Dolan, “American Humanitarian Intervention: Toward a Theory of Coevolution,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3, no. 1 (2007): 46.

67. Roberto Belloni, “The Trouble with Humanitarianism,” *Review of International Studies* 33, no. 3 (2007): 453.

68. Ibid.

interests.⁶⁹ As evidence, critics reference the inconsistency in humanitarian relief operations.⁷⁰ A unique aspect that supports the critic's argument is that aid projects historically require public support in order to gain influence. Supporters and politicians utilize "speeches, appeals and reports" to state their cause, and "in some, but not all cases, humanitarianism formed part of the politics of outrage."⁷¹ Supporters and critics also fall into the liberalist and realist viewpoint for humanitarianism in politics.

Like proponents of humanitarianism, the liberalist viewpoint highlights the moral benefits of these actions. They argue "that humanitarian interventions are a manifestation of America's moral obligations and responsibilities as a world leader."⁷² In contrast, realists, like critics, see the practical application of humanitarian aid for international politics. They argue that "states may intervene to bolster a state or assist an ally, block a regional hegemon or counterbalance an internal power situation when another outside power has intervened."⁷³ Overall, they are skeptical of the pure intentions behind humanitarian action and argue that countries will not sacrifice their own people's lives for another without additional requirements.⁷⁴ This viewpoint aligns with the belief that the United States participates in Middle Eastern affairs to help monitor oil prices.⁷⁵

Humanitarianism is a belief system that seeks to place value on all life, and its

69. Ibid.

70. Alynna J. Lyon and Chris J. Dolan, "American Humanitarian Intervention: Toward a Theory of Coevolution," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3, no. 1 (2007): 46.

71. Daniel Laqua, "Inside the Humanitarian Cloud," *Journal of Modern European History* 12, no. 2 (2014): 177-178.

72. Seung-Whan Choi, "What Determines US Humanitarian Intervention," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 30, no. 2 (2013): 122.

73. Alynna J. Lyon and Chris J. Dolan, "American Humanitarian Intervention: Toward a Theory of Coevolution," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3, no. 1 (2007): 47.

74. Seung-Whan Choi, "What Determines US Humanitarian Intervention," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 30, no. 2 (2013): 122.

75. Ibid.

supporters hold mankind accountable for the suffering of others. Its tenets are not new to politics, but it has slowly gained more support in recent years. The United States is frequently at the center of relief operations, and its leadership regularly references humanitarianism as a reason for participation. The next section explores the cultural basis of American humanitarian work, and covers the beginning of the United States with The Declaration of Independence and concludes with an exploration of Herbert Hoover's lasting influence on the American concept of humanitarianism. Hoover is often overlooked as a president, but his progressivism had an early impact on supporting the New Deal programs in the 1930s and Hoover's self-understanding as first and foremost a philanthropist (and how he shaped American springs of humanitarianism) is often lost.

American Case Studies

Herbert Hoover had the nickname The Great Humanitarian, but what does it mean to be a humanitarian?⁷⁶ Specifically, what do Americans think a humanitarian is? A source document for American reasoning is The Declaration of Independence. The most famous line in this document declares that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights," including "Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."⁷⁷ It further asserts "that to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men."⁷⁸ This is a uniquely American belief, but the Founding Fathers applied it to the rest of the world. Indeed, at the end of the Declaration they announced that they held "the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends."⁷⁹

76. Glen Jeansonne, *Herbert Hoover: A Life*, (New York: Berkley, 2016), 149.

77. "Declaration of Independence," *U.S. History.org*, July 4th, 1776, <http://www.ushistory.org/declaration/document/>.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.

These basic rights are fundamental to policies developed in the United States government over the years, and how they apply to various individuals has been a source of debate. However, the clauses demonstrate that the Founding Fathers envisioned that life, liberty, and happiness were destined to extend outside of the United States. In other words, while the Declaration is particularistic to the United States and its quest for independence, its language is universalistic, and its self-evident truths apply to all. It is the universalism of the American creed that especially complements the universalistic etymology of the word “humanite,” as noted earlier. Throughout America’s history, politicians have rallied around the ideas clearly stated in the Declaration, and it is through these politicians that the American basis for a humanitarian can be determined.

One of the most influential presidents, Abraham Lincoln, frequently referenced the Declaration of Independence in support of his views against slavery. In his speeches, Lincoln emphasized the civilizing guidance of the Declaration, and demonstrated how it would continue to influence political decision making in the future. In regards to slavery, Lincoln said, “I had thought the Declaration contemplated the progressive improvement in the condition of all men everywhere.”⁸⁰ The language used by the Founding Fathers was vague for a reason, and the intent behind the document applies to more than just the American colonies at that particular moment in time. In his argument against slavery, Lincoln mentions life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and argues that these basic rights apply to everyone. Immigrants came from all over and “they [had] a right to claim [these rights] as though they were blood of the blood, and flesh of the flesh of the men

80. Abraham Lincoln, “Speech and Springfield, Illinois,” (speech, Springfield, Illinois, June 26 1857), <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/l/lincoln/lincoln2/1:438?rgn=div1;view=fulltext>.

who wrote that Declaration.”⁸¹ He then finds fault in the argument that they do not apply to African Americans because, “If one man says it does not mean a negro, why not another say it does not mean some other man?”⁸² Lincoln’s analysis of the Declaration of Independence demonstrates the humanitarian concept of treating others as you would want to be treated. America promises “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”⁸³ to all men, and its citizens have a right to help see it through.

Nearly 50 years later, Albert J. Beveridge took a drastically different approach in utilizing the Declaration to define America’s role in the world. At this time, slavery was not the issue at hand, and Beveridge’s speeches focused on America’s international role. His speech, “March of the Flag,” highlighted the accomplishments of President William McKinley prior to his reelection, and in it he announced that the United States was “a noble land...that can feed and clothe the world.”⁸⁴ He argued that America is uniquely positioned to reach all corners of the globe because it contains “a people imperial by virtue of their power...by authority of their heaven-directed purposes.”⁸⁵ Beveridge emphasized the religious destiny of America and even argued that McKinley expanded American influence “under the guidance of Divine Providence.”⁸⁶ In other words, the United States had a God-given destiny to spread its ideals across the world, and its citizens were the ones who could accomplish it.

81. Abraham Lincoln, “A Question of Veracity,” (speech, Chicago, Illinois, July 10, 1858), <http://www.mrlincolnanfreedom.org/pre-civil-war/house-divided-speech/speech-at-chicago-july-10-1858/>.

82. Ibid.

83. “Declaration of Independence,” *U.S. History.org*, July 4, 1776, <http://www.ushistory.org/declaration/document/>.

84. Albert J. Beveridge, “March of the Flag,” (speech, September 16, 1898). <http://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/beveridge-march-of-the-flag-speech-text/>.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid.

In an address to Congress in 1901, Beveridge again discussed the Divinity of American intervention. He argued that not all states can be self-governing, and that is ok. “‘Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness’ are the important things; ‘consent of the governed’ is one of the means to those ends.”⁸⁷ God made America the country to spread these freedoms to the world, and Beveridge announced that “he has made us adept in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples.”⁸⁸ America has the ability to help others, therefore they should. This is righteous work that fulfills America’s destiny. Beveridge also addressed that helping other countries is expensive both in terms of man-power and money, but that the United States will only succeed in achieving their destiny through “the bravery of men and women’s tears, of righteousness and battle, of sacrifice and anguish, of triumph and of glory.”⁸⁹ The outcome of intervention is worth the cost to continue America’s divine destiny. It is important to mention that Beveridge was considered a racist and an imperialist. In fact, many of his speeches provided a “racially based defense of imperialism.”⁹⁰ In his embrace of racially based imperialism, Beveridge’s influence was limited as the United States, for the most part, resisted this impulse. However, the idea of extending United States’ influence throughout the world, a core tenet of American humanitarianism, lies at the heart of the natural rights philosophy of the Declaration and was and continues to be nurtured by subsequent generations of Americans, in different forms.

87. Albert J Beveridge, “In Support of an American Empire,” speech given on January 9, 1900. <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/in-support-of-an-american-empire/>.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

90. Allen Merriam, “Racism in the Expansionist Controversy of 1898-1900,” *Phylon* 39, no. 4 (1978): 372-373.

Lincoln's and Beveridge's speeches show that American humanitarians should be willing to help provide the God-given rights laid out in the Declaration of Independence to those who need it. Both politicians highlighted the cost of doing this work. Lincoln's speeches merely addressed the political cost, but eventually these beliefs contributed to the Civil War. Lincoln insisted on maintaining a Republican Union between the North and South, and saw the ideals of the Founding Fathers and guidance to achieve this. Lincoln expressed that the fight to save American democracy was a much larger battle upon which rested the survival of self-government itself. In his famous words: "We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of earth."⁹¹ Beveridge's ideals show spending money as an appropriate way to provide relief, and even demonstrated that the military could help. His position was more aggressive than Lincoln's and focused on America's global role rather than the preservation of the United States. Beveridge argued that the destiny of the United States is to provide life, liberty, and happiness to as much of the world as possible, and supporting those who are unable to support themselves through humanitarian work is an appropriate use of American resources.

In contrast to Lincoln and Beveridge was President Woodrow Wilson, who had his own interpretation of the Declaration of Independence that was different than theirs, though, ultimately, he reached a similar conclusion on American humanitarian work. Like Beveridge, Wilson was a progressive, and these principles shaped his policy. He believed that "The laws of [America] have not kept up with the change of political circumstances in [America]."⁹² He argued that the United States was no longer "the hope

91. Abraham Lincoln, "Annual Message to Congress: Concluding Remarks," (speech, December 1, 1862). <http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/congress.htm>.

92. Woodrow Wilson, "What is Progress," in *The New Freedom: Chapter 2*, (1913), <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/what-is-progress/>.

and the beacon of the world,” and needed to adapt to current times.⁹³ The United States government was created on a theory. He argued that “the trouble with the theory is that government is not a machine, but a living thing,” and “it falls, not under the theory of the universe, but under the theory of organic life.”⁹⁴ Great progress needed to be made in order to make America relevant again. Wilson’s issue with the Declaration of Independence was that it did not age well with time. “It is of no consequence to us unless we can translate its general terms into examples of the present day” because “it is an eminently practical document, meant for the use of practical men; not a thesis for philosophers, but a whip for tyrants; not a theory for government, but a program of action.”⁹⁵ Wilson argues that its only relevance in modern times is through its spirit, which can guide legislation. As an example, tyranny in Wilson’s time was no longer the British Government, but existed in big business. American humanitarianism is demonstrated again in Wilson’s work because he states that America’s purpose is “to set men free, upon a footing of equality, upon a footing of opportunity, to match their brains and their energies.”⁹⁶ The difference between Wilson and the others is how he sees the government responding to this responsibility.

Lincoln, Beveridge, and Wilson all referenced the role of America in the international community. They believed that the United States’ destiny was to spread its ideals around the world. They had different interpretations of the intent of the Founding Fathers and argued slightly different points for why America should provide life, liberty, and happiness to others, but they all reached the conclusion that expanding these ideals

93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid.

was the role of the United States. A lesser known figure, Herbert Hoover, played an even greater role in taking the ideas of the Declaration and solidifying them into the tradition of American humanitarianism. The discussion turns now to his unique and lasting contribution to the humanitarian tradition.

From Hoover to Haiti

To determine what made Herbert Hoover the Great Humanitarian, one must look at his past. Herbert Hoover was the 31st President of the United States.⁹⁷ With many Americans he is famous for being president during the opening years of the Great Depression and failing to prevent it, and in that sense, it may seem odd to ascribe to him the mantle of being a great humanitarian when so many suffered during the Depression. However, both at home and abroad he also “earned a reputation among common people as a selfless patron who staved off starvation, typhoid, and cholera during periods of distress.”⁹⁸ During World War I, he “emerged as the greatest humanitarian of the bloodbath that claimed well over 10 million lives.”⁹⁹ After the War, he served on the “American Relief Administration (ARA)” and “fed nations from the North Sea to the Urals,” and helped American citizens who were displaced due to severe flooding of the Mississippi River.¹⁰⁰ As president, he was faced with the challenging events of the Great Depression setting in after a decade of prosperity, and created programs designed to help those most affected by the economy. Even towards the end of his life, Hoover continued his work, and fought to “to alleviate the scourge of famine” in Europe during World War

97. “Herbert Hoover,” *The White House*, accessed on June 4, 2019, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/herbert-hoover/>.

98. Glen Jeansonne, *Herbert Hoover: A Life*, (New York: Berkley, 2016), 3.

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid.

II.¹⁰¹ This generous man cared for millions of people across the world, and earned the nickname The Great Humanitarian. Hoover's life of service started with his upbringing, and evolved due to a difficult childhood.

Herbert Hoover's youth was full of trouble and tragedy, and through these difficulties he developed a strong belief system. Hoover was raised under Quaker principles in the strict religious town of West Branch.¹⁰² His family grew up in a small single room cabin and supported themselves primarily through farming and gathering. Hoover was fond of his youth because it gave him a love of nature and made him resilient and hardworking. The town of West Branch was a community where "frugality and thrift were ingrained by religion and necessity," and families focused on each other, school, and worship.¹⁰³ While Hoover enjoyed some memories from his childhood, he had a tough time. When he was 6 years old, his father contracted typhoid and died, and then, to make matters worse, three years after that his mother contracted a severe cold and died. At the age of 9, Hoover and his other siblings were orphans.¹⁰⁴ At this point his family was further divided throughout the town and each sibling received a small piece of their parents estate.¹⁰⁵ Hoover realized he came from a modest background, and once even said, "my boyhood ambition was to be able to earn my own living, without the help of anybody, anywhere."¹⁰⁶ At the age of 10, Herbert Hoover learned a lesson that he carried with him for the rest of his life, that sometimes life would be difficult, and it is ok to lean on others for help until you can pick yourself back up again.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid., 7.

103. Ibid., 8.

104. Ibid., 17.

105. Ibid., 18.

106. Richard Norton Smith, *An Uncommon Man: The Triumph of Herbert Hoover*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), 67.

Herbert Hoover also found support in these early tragedies through his religion. Hoover's belief system was established through his family, and was solidified throughout his lifetime. His family's life in West Branch centered around the Quaker religion and the community church. When he was not helping in the fields or going to school, Hoover and his family were at worship. Quaker beliefs are different from other religions, and participants treat the world and each other with reverence. Hoover grew up understanding that honest labor and education were to be respected.¹⁰⁷ His religion also encouraged only helping those who absolutely needed it, and when disaster struck, individuals "would be helped only for the duration of [their] hardship."¹⁰⁸ Hoover had these core Quaker principles throughout his life, and this belief system greatly affected his humanitarian and political policies.¹⁰⁹

An additional attribute of Quakers is their belief in self assessment. Periodically devote members ask "themselves a list of demanding Queries, a self examination of virtues ranging from human brotherhood to moderation of speech and honor in one's worldly dealings."¹¹⁰ Through these Quaker Queries, Hoover recognized that his earlier life was not fulfilling, and he realized he needed to help more people. His solution was to enter public service in order to "create a social and economic system which [would] so function as to sustain and enrich life for all."¹¹¹ He invested time in himself and began to study political topics such as history and economics.¹¹² Finally, his opportunity to benefit

107. Glen Jeansonne, *Herbert Hoover: A Life*, (New York: Berkley, 2016), 11.

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid., 13.

110. Richard Norton Smith, *An Uncommon Man: The Triumph of Herbert Hoover*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), 60.

111. Ibid., 77.

112. Ibid., 78.

others in public service arrived, and at the outbreak of World War I Hoover found his calling.¹¹³

After the German invasion, Belgium faced massive food shortages and needed help. Hoover believed he had the solution, and out of London he founded the Commission for Relief in Belgium (CRB) “to procure and provide food for the desperate civilian population.”¹¹⁴ He had already become famous for his “compassion and organizational abilities” from his earlier years when he was an engineer, and was handpicked to redesign the relief movement.¹¹⁵ The CRB delivered that assistance and was widely successful. Through the War’s blockade, Hoover delivered food to over 9 million people during the War.¹¹⁶ This was a complex program to lead that required Hoover to expertly manage relationships with both British and German leaders. He was so trusted by both sides that he was able to make this humanitarian relief operation the largest the world had ever seen. Throughout this process, small decisions Hoover made drew back on his youth and Quaker roots. One example is that Hoover was so committed to this effort that he sold his shares in a profitable Burma mine in China¹¹⁷, and he refused a salary while he ran the CRB.¹¹⁸ These funds were directly given to the CRB’s efforts. Hoover’s selfless donations directly provided relief to all of these displaced people. This humanitarian effort propelled Hoover to international recognition, and

113. George H. Nash, *The Life of Herbert Hoover: Master of Emergencies, 1917-1918*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996), 4.

114. Ibid.

115. Glen Jeansonne, *Herbert Hoover: A Life*, (New York: Berkley, 2016), 104.

116. George H. Nash, *The Life of Herbert Hoover: Master of Emergencies, 1917-1918*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996), 4.

117. Glen Jeansonne, *Herbert Hoover: A Life*, (New York: Berkley, 2016), 80.

118. Ibid., 98.

directly contributed to President Wilson selecting him to lead the United States Food Administration after America's entry into the War.¹¹⁹

In his capacity with the Food Administration, Hoover served on the War Cabinet and "endeavored to stimulate food conservation and food production, to control surging inflation of food prices, and to create surpluses of exportable foodstuffs for America's allies."¹²⁰ In the War Cabinet, Hoover's progressive thinking began to show itself. One of his most forward-thinking plans was to make "the government itself enter the market and operate within it as its biggest-hence dominant-player."¹²¹ This allowed the government to have a more direct role in price development in order to keep the food market stabilized. Again, Hoover performed admirably, even though "time and again on the food front, emergencies arose."¹²² One specific example of his successful efforts was in his food conservation campaign. Herbert Hoover rallied the country around food saving initiatives. He created chants like "Food Will Win the War," and "Do Not Help the Hun at Meal Time," to gain support in households across the nation. By the end of the War, "20 million housewives joined the food army."¹²³ The regulations and initiatives he placed on Americans during the War made Hoover a household name. Suddenly people would "hooverize their dinners," and they took pride in conservation.¹²⁴ The American people during the War were hard, and unyielding. They wanted to support the troops and War efforts from their homes, and Herbert Hoover provided them an avenue to do it.

119. George H. Nash, *The Life of Herbert Hoover: Master of Emergencies, 1917-1918*, (W.W. Norton & Company: New York, 1996) x.

120. Ibid.

121. Ibid., 33.

122. Ibid., x.

123. Richard Norton Smith, *An Uncommon Man: The Triumph of Herbert Hoover*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), 89.

124. Ibid., 90.

Herbert Hoover saw progressivism as a path to make America better, but his humanitarian successes did not immediately translate into political victory. In fact, he was so popular after the War that “his name entered as a candidate in presidential primaries for both parties” in 1920.¹²⁵ Of course, he lost, but, Hoover’s fame ensured that he would still have a strong presence in the United States, and in the 1920’s he was appointed as Secretary of Commerce. Hoover remained active in this role, and maintained a constant public presence throughout Calvin Coolidge’s presidency. In 1927, Hoover was again able to support a great humanitarian crisis after the Mississippi River floods. As the flooding increased and more of the population was displaced, Coolidge received pressure to let Hoover fix the problem.¹²⁶ Coolidge granted this wish and placed Hoover in charge of the relief effort. In this role, Hoover aggressively pursued a solution, and coordinated for emergency supplies to be delivered to the disaster area while simultaneously constructing well-designed refugee camps throughout the region.¹²⁷ His efforts were a success and all but ensured Hoover was the front runner for President in the following year.

In 1928, Hoover campaigned for President of the United States. He was an immensely popular candidate, and during the Republican’s Kansas City convention his supporters declared that, ““nothing escapes [Hoover’s] view. His trained mind marshals every factor and where he proposes a remedy it neglects nothing the omission of which would disturb the final solution.””¹²⁸ He was so famous and successful that his critics

125. Charles Rappleye, *Herbert Hoover in the White House*, (Simon & Schuster, New York, 2016), 11.

126. Amity Shlaes, *Coolidge*, (Harper Collins: New York, 2013), 358.

127. *Ibid.*, 359.

128. Richard Norton Smith, *An Uncommon Man: The Triumph of Herbert Hoover*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), 104.

even had a difficult time finding anything wrong with him. In fact, Hoover was so popular that most American's had a difficult time identifying reasons not to elect him president.

“At fifty-three years of age he was a unique character in American life, universally known but still largely private figure, an unknown quantity full of promise and ineffable appeal. Unlike the career politicians that he liked to disparage, Hoover had a story outside the drawing rooms where the party hacks did their business. He'd be orphaned at an early age, worked his way through school, and made his fortune in faraway lands.”¹²⁹

In other words, Hoover was a self-made businessman. It would be hard for anyone to win against a person with Hoover renown. Any negative publicity Hoover received failed with the voters, and throughout the whole campaign he was a clear favorite.¹³⁰ An additional reason for his success was that because of the “deceiving glow of the Coolidge-era prosperity,” of which he was the new face of the party.¹³¹ He ended up winning the election in a landslide. “He received 58 percent of the popular tally and 444 electoral votes to [his opponents] 87.”¹³² In comparison, President Obama only won the 2008 election 365 electoral votes to John McCain's 173.¹³³ Hoover's victory was decisive, and few elections have been so straightforward. These results demonstrated how

129. Charles Rappleye, *Herbert Hoover in the White House*, (Simon & Schuster, New York, 2016) 9-10.

130. Richard Norton Smith, *An Uncommon Man: The Triumph of Herbert Hoover*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), 106.

131. Glen Jeansonne, *Herbert Hoover: A Life*, (New York: Berkley, 2016), 196.

132. Richard Norton Smith, *An Uncommon Man: The Triumph of Herbert Hoover*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), 106.

133. “Election Results 2008,” *The New York Times*, last modified December 9, 2008, <https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2008/results/president/votes.html>.

excited the United States was with their new president, and the American people had high hopes with what the Great Humanitarian could do in office.

When the Stock Market Crash occurred in October 1929, no one could anticipate that an event as significant as the Great Depression was beginning. When the crash led to an initial public panic, “the White House quickly emerged as the command center in formulating a national response.”¹³⁴ The President and his Cabinet originally believed that the economy would bounce back from this drop because it had been so strong. Hoover and his advisors could not comprehend that it was anything more than a short term problem, and even announced it to be a blessing that so many people were selling their stocks. They argued that the funds taken from stocks would “release large amounts of capital from the speculative market for employment in business and industry.”¹³⁵ Despite these beliefs, Hoover still proposed significant policies to aid those affected by the crash.

His first policy recommendations came from a progressive background and included “a dramatic expansion in federal public works to augment employment” and increased tax cuts.¹³⁶ These policies would provide jobs and encourage businesses to increase their investments,. Herbert Hoover recommended “them on a scale never seen before.”¹³⁷ In the end, millions of dollars were pledged by cities and states across America with big businesses even announcing expansions to provide more jobs. These initial actions were lauded by economists and politicians alike, and in the first few

134. Charles Rappleye, *Herbert Hoover in the White House*, (Simon & Schuster, New York, 2016), 101.

135. *Ibid.*, 107.

136. *Ibid.*, 111.

137. *Ibid.*, 112.

months after the crash it appeared that America would recover.¹³⁸ These policies tied back to Hoover's Quaker roots because they focused on providing jobs for Americans rather than giving away free support. Hoover knew that sometimes people need help, and their communities can provide it to them.

As unemployment rose and the drought in the south became worse, Governors approached Hoover for monetary assistance, but he would not provide it.¹³⁹ Rather, Hoover focused on delivering the supplies necessary for families to rebuild including: "reduced rail rates, road projects to provide work for idled farmers, loan guarantees for stock feed and for spring planting, and, where local charity would not suffice, material assistance by the red cross."¹⁴⁰ Of note, throughout these actions, Hoover continued to focus on local relief and again he only provided the resources they would need to help themselves. He gave them jobs, loans, and provided them with a better system to transport their supplies on. Hoover was adamant that the federal government was to only have limited involvement.

After Herbert Hoover left the presidency, he was immensely unpopular. However, at the onset of World War Two he again worked to help alleviate the suffering of starving women and children in Europe. His main role in this conflict was to voice opposition to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's (FDR) approach to relief operations. Hoover believed that Roosevelt's efforts throughout the entire conflict did too little to improve the situation.¹⁴¹ Of course, FDR wanted to help the starving population, but he had

138. Ibid., 114.

139. Ibid., 194.

140. Ibid.

141. James George Jr., "Another Chance: Herbert Hoover and World War II Relief," *Diplomatic History* 16, no. 3 (1992): 397.

difficulties balancing his desire with the demands of Great Britain who saw starvation as another weapon to fight Germany.¹⁴² Hoover was relentless and “repeatedly scor[ed] the administration for its insensitivity, and yet the British were unalterably opposed to relief.”¹⁴³ FDR tried to work with Great Britain throughout the entire conflict, but had no success overcoming their desires.¹⁴⁴ Hoover argued that this decision could not be made by the president and appealed to the American people and Congress to enact change.¹⁴⁵ Ultimately, nothing significant came out of his effort, and the war ended without Hoover regaining his status as the Great Humanitarian.¹⁴⁶

At the end of his time in office Hoover was unpopular, but he had accomplished more than the country gave him credit for. In four years he “spent more money on public works than all his predecessors combined,” and “added 37,000 miles of highway.”¹⁴⁷ The accomplishments though could not stop the Great Depression from overtaking the American people, and when his reelection campaign occurred he was soundly defeated by Franklin D. Roosevelt. The Great Humanitarian had been placed in an impossible situation, and he did what could in order to improve the lives of those Americans who were struggling.

Analysis

This chapter seeks to find an answer to the question: what is American humanitarianism, and what is the American cultural standard for participating in relief operations? Humanitarianism is a belief system centered around assisting those in need

142. Ibid., 389.

143. Ibid., 397.

144. Ibid., 397.

145. Ibid., 399.

146. Ibid., 406.

147. Richard Norton Smith, *An Uncommon Man: The Triumph of Herbert Hoover*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), 39.

regardless of any personal differences. It focuses on the most basic qualities of the human experience, and seeks to ensure that all people have, at a minimum, their basic rights. A key component of humanitarianism is that it is universal, and assistance is intended to be “permanent, transnational, institutional, [and] neutral.”¹⁴⁸ Additionally, humanitarianism is not purely an international issue, and alleviates human suffering at home as well as abroad. American humanitarianism is not a pure form of the belief system. No country can be. Humanitarians are neutral, and a government based on its principles would help others in need regardless of state preferences or international strategy. This is not realistic because states have their own agendas. Despite this, it is apparent through this literature review that the United States has its own unique application of the principles within humanitarianism, and as a country, consistently assist other countries in need more than their international peers (Figures 2, 3, and 4). Since its conception, the United States has defined the basic human rights as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The Founding Fathers carefully worded The Declaration of Independence in order for these rights to extend to all people, not just Americans. The applicability of its contents have been debated by politicians for years, but it is evident that humanitarian concepts have been justified using its themes.

President Lincoln referenced the Declaration to denounce slavery, and claimed all men, regardless of race deserve these rights. The anti-slavery movement itself “is often portrayed as the earliest manifestation of humanitarianism” in politics.¹⁴⁹ Lincoln’s argument highlights the humanitarian viewpoint that basic rights are universal. No matter

148. Aditi Surie von Czebowski, “Humanitarianism: Histories, Erasures, Repetitions,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 3, no 3 (2017): 614.

149. Daniel Laqua, “Inside the Humanitarian Cloud,” *Journal of Modern European History* 12, no. 2 (2014): 176.

what race or background an individual has, it is America's job to ensure their protection. Of course, Lincoln's position only referred to American citizens and immigrants, but he is not the only politician to use the Declaration to justify humanitarianism. Both Beveridge and Wilson's viewpoints highlighted some additional themes.

Beveridge's argument was that the United States needed to expand its influence to countries that could not take care of themselves. He believed that it was the role of the United States to provide this assistance to those who need it, and thought that America was an example for the world to follow. He called upon the military and admitted that increasing the United States' influence would cost government resources including American lives and money. His imperialist message draws parallels to humanitarianism's critics who see the United States' participation in relief as a means to exert their own agenda in another country. In contrast, Wilson's message focused on the home front. He argued that the Declaration's only relevance in modern times is through its spirit, not its direct text. However, this spirit can guide legislation to defend the American people. He worried that big businesses had taken the people's basic human rights, and saw the spirit of the Founding Fathers as a solution to creating new regulations. Like President Lincoln, Wilson's message demonstrates the American government's desire to provide the basic rights to everyone in need, and focused on the home front.

The Declaration of Independence took its bearings not from a revealed faith but from a deistic position and from the secular idea of natural rights. It announced that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness were endowed upon man by their Creator. These natural rights cannot be taken from anyone, and it is the United States' responsibility to ensure their protection. Initially these rights extended to the American people, but the

Founding Fathers intended for it to spread throughout the world. Both Lincoln and Beveridge emphasized God throughout their speeches. Beveridge even announced that expanded American influence was “under the guidance of Divine Providence.”¹⁵⁰ He believed the same as many Americans, that the United States had a God-given destiny to spread its ideals across the world. Despite the separation of church and state, the United States’ calling to humanitarianism is directly tied to its religious leaders and citizens.

Herbert Hoover epitomized the ideal American humanitarian, and his relief operations made him a national hero. He was loved by Americans, who demonstrated their support for his humanitarian actions when they elected him president by 444 electoral votes to 87, an impressive margin.¹⁵¹ Hoover’s work as a humanitarian supports the American goals of life, liberty, and happiness for all because his policies affected millions of people both home and abroad. His influence traversed war-zones, and his message inspired the nation to conserve food in order to feed others. Hoover utilized his personal capabilities to navigate the discourse of war and politics in order to provide food and water to millions of families facing famine and flood. He spread American ideals by giving people their most basic right, life. Hoover’s humanitarian work highlights three trends in his use of humanitarianism that the United States still uses today in its relief operations: individual donations, religious organization, and the form of aid.

Individual donations. Many of Herbert Hoover’s plans for relief in the Great Depression focused on local communities. He believed that the federal government should not be involved in matters where neighbors could provide the best help. Hoover

150. Ibid.

151. Richard Norton Smith, *An Uncommon Man: The Triumph of Herbert Hoover*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), 106.

had two reasons for not supporting government aid. “The first was the old and familiar argument against government assistance—that dispensing aid would reward shirkers and discourage enterprise.”¹⁵² The second was Hoover’s conviction “that replacing local relief with federal dollars threatened to ‘stifle’ that neighborly impulse to charity that Hoover saw as essential to the American character.”¹⁵³ This view of the world was developed by how Hoover grew up in West Branch. His town and family provided support to him after he was orphaned, and ensured that young Hoover still had opportunities growing up. He learned at a young age that sometimes life would be difficult, and it is ok to lean on others for help until you can pick yourself back up again. This draws an important parallel to humanitarian relief operations. American citizens will rally themselves around a crisis to provide help. In World War I, they supported Hoover’s conservation initiatives and “hooverized their dinners.”¹⁵⁴ Even Hoover himself selflessly donated his CRB salary to the relief efforts. Individual sacrifice for humanitarian relief is a trend that continues to this day. In 2010, the America public donated over \$4 billion to the Haiti crises through non-governmental organizations and charities.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, individual citizens organized fundraisers like “The Hope for Haiti telethon,” that used celebrities like Madonna to raise \$66 million in relief funds.¹⁵⁶ When the American people rally behind a tragedy, there has always been a strong humanitarian desire to provide support.

152. Ibid., 39.

153. Ibid.

154. Ibid., 90.

155. Sharyl Attkisson, “Haiti Earthquake Aid: Nearly \$15 Billion in Donations,” *CBS Evening News*, last modified April 22, 2010. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/haiti-earthquake-aid-nearly-15-billion-in-donations/>.

156. Carol Adelman, “Haiti: Testing the Limits of Government Aid and Philanthropy,” *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 17, no. 2 (2011): 91.

Religious support. Another theme in American humanitarianism highlighted in Hoover's accomplishments is the influence of religion. The town of West Branch was a community where and families focused on each other, school, and worship.¹⁵⁷ Quakers are frugal and hardworking, and see value in self sufficiency. Despite this, Hoover's tough childhood also solidified his belief in community support. An additional attribute of Quakers is their belief in self assessment.¹⁵⁸ Through Quaker Queries, Hoover recognized that his earlier life as an engineer was not fulfilling, and he realized he needed to help more people. Hoover pursued the Good Samaritan life, and part of this life is the call to humanitarian actions. He searched for ways to act with compassion and freely devoted "own time, energy, and money to help" those who need it.¹⁵⁹ When World War I began, Hoover had already become famous for his "compassion and organizational abilities" and was selected to head the relief movement, and donated his own salary and mine shares to the operations.¹⁶⁰ His plans inspired Good Samaritan actions around the world, as he was allowed to operate across enemy lines to provide essential aid to a starving population. This religious call to action is a trend that still exists today in American humanitarianism. In the Haiti earthquake crises, "some of the largest donation totals were for faith-based organizations." For example, "Catholic Relief Services raised \$136 million, World Vision raised \$41 million, and the United Methodist Committee on Relief raised \$14.5 million."¹⁶¹ These three groups provided nearly five percent of the total private donations

157. Glen Jeansonne, *Herbert Hoover: A Life*, (New York: Berkley, 2016), 8.

158. Richard Norton Smith, *An Uncommon Man: The Triumph of Herbert Hoover*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), 60.

159. Bharat Ranganathan, "On Helping One's Neighbor," *The Journal of Religious Ethics* 40, no. 4 (2012): 660.

160. Glen Jeansonne, *Herbert Hoover: A Life*, (New York: Berkley, 2016), 104.

161. Carol Adelman, "Haiti: Testing the Limits of Government Aid and Philanthropy," *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 17, no. 2 (2011): 90.

received from the entire world. The United States has a large Christian population, and their belief system strongly supports American humanitarian relief operations.

Form of Aid. Herbert Hoover's relief work also highlighted the type of resources that the United States provides in relief operations. As a Quaker, Hoover held certain traits, and his beliefs led him to expect "the able bodied...to support themselves."¹⁶² Hoover's priorities for aid emphasized this expectation because he strived to provide the minimum resources for people to recover from a tragedy. His religion also encouraged only assisting those who absolutely needed it, and when disaster struck, individuals "would be helped only for the duration of [their] hardship."¹⁶³ After becoming president, Hoover's programs combating the Great Depression tried to provide jobs to Americans, and he avoided the concept of free aid. Hoover developed a system to make food delivery cheaper so that families could eat for less, and Hoover expected people to work in order to get the economy moving again. His first policy recommendations after the stock market crash included "a dramatic expansion in federal public works to augment employment" and increased tax cuts to increase the flow of money in the economy.¹⁶⁴ These policies provided jobs, and alleviated some of the hardship for American citizens. Hoover's aid recommendations directly parallel current United States aid strategies. In Haiti, the aid that the America still provides "focuses on long-term reconstruction and development, promoting economic growth, job creation and agricultural development, providing basic health care and education services, and improving the effectiveness of government." There still is a time when free aid is appropriate, and much like Hoover

162. Glen Jeansonne, *Herbert Hoover: A Life*, (New York: Berkley, 2016), 11.

163. Ibid.

164. Charles Rappleye, *Herbert Hoover in the White House*, (Simon & Schuster, New York, 2016), 111.

provided food to Europe in the middle of a War, the United States will still ensure “the immediate needs of food-insecure households” in Haiti.¹⁶⁵ Primarily though, American aid packages assist Haiti in developing its own agricultural production, and it focuses on additional ways to assist the Haitian government’s ability to take care of its own people. To do this, the United States delivers skills training and expertise to help government officials manage the country on their own.¹⁶⁶ American humanitarianism seeks to deliver only the minimum requirements for immediate relief, and then tries to provide the essential training and tools for a country to take care of itself after a disaster.

In the end Hoover’s efforts to combat the Great Depression fell short, but he felt that he had done plenty. At that point in American history, his reforms were the largest ever, and his various programs and initiatives raised millions of dollars from the government, big businesses, and Good Samaritans that he then poured back into the community. His humanitarian efforts demonstrate that a single individual can have a lasting impact on a nation, and highlighted that American humanitarianism relies on individual contributions and religious organizations to provide lasting relief to others in need.

Conclusion

The basics of humanitarianism are not new -- for thousands of years humans have assisted their neighbors in need. When humanitarianism enters the political sphere, it is the expectation that governments will assist people in need both at home and abroad. This help should be universal and unbiased. Critics point out that humanitarian operations use moral excuses to hide other national objectives. This may be true, but in the United

165. “Haiti,” *USAID*, last modified October 26 2018. <https://www.usaid.gov/haiti>.

166. *Ibid*.

States, there has been a uniting of humanitarianism with America's national objectives. This chapter has aimed to demonstrate that the United States has developed its own unique (and generous) standard for humanitarianism. It began with the Declaration of Independence and through the years has solidified itself into American politics. The basic human rights of life, liberty, and happiness were declared by the Founding Fathers with the intent to spread them throughout the world. This chapter focused some attention on the life of Herbert Hoover because he epitomized the American humanitarian. His early ability to focus on the plight of the world's suffering has continued to shape the American concept of giving. Unfortunately, Hoover's influence in this area is often lost as his reputation has been consigned to that of mishandling the Great Depression, but this chapter demonstrated that Hoover's legacy, while certainly mixed, is properly placed in its lasting influence on humanitarian aid. His humanitarian efforts demonstrate that a single individual can have a lasting impact on a nation, and highlighted that American humanitarianism relies on individual contributions and religious organizations to provide lasting relief to a disaster stricken country. The next chapter examines the current decision making process of the United States, and seeks to discover if the need for influence in a disaster stricken region affects the government's decision to provide humanitarian relief.

Chapter 2: The United States and Humanitarian Relief Decision Making

In 2011, a devastating tsunami struck the coast of Japan. Instantly, thousands of people were killed and the survivors were displaced from their homes and cut off from their livelihoods. During this hectic time, countries around the world sent aid to assist in the protection of Japanese men, women, and children. The help was swift and substantial. Among those countries that provided relief was the United States.¹⁶⁷ America quickly supported their ally, and sent the military to provide humanitarian relief in Operation Tomodachi.¹⁶⁸ This operation cost the United States military nearly \$90 million, but provided critical aid to Japan when the country needed it most.¹⁶⁹

As the first chapter identified, the majority of Americans react positively towards humanitarian relief operations, and rally to support other countries when disaster strikes. Despite this, the United States government does not provide aid in every situation. This paper analyzes how the United States government makes the decision to assist another country in need. For the course of this chapter, humanitarian relief includes the monetary funds, people, and equipment provided by the United States Government to a non-US country or territory that has been struck by a natural disaster. The first two chapters of this thesis explores the different aspects of the United States' decision to participate in humanitarian relief, and the last chapter examines how China makes the same decisions. This chapter examines the United States' existing relationship with the country involved,

167. Ian Saleh, "Japan Earthquake and Tsunami: US Response and Impact," *Washington Post*, March 11, 2011, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/03/11/AR2011031104672.html>.

168. Ken Dilanian and Washington Bureau, "U.S. Military, Aid Teams Headed for Japan," *Los Angeles Times*, last updated March 12, 2011, <http://www.latimes.com/world/sc-dc-japan-quake-us-relief-20110313-story.html>.

169. Eric Johnston, "Operation Tomodachi a Huge Success, But was it a One-Off?," *Japan Times*, last updated March 3, 2012, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2012/03/03/national/operation-tomodachi-a-huge-success-but-was-it-a-one-off/#.W1U0OiOZOu4>.

and how the need for influence in the region affects the government's decision to provide humanitarian relief.

Literature Review

There is a large volume of literature on the interaction between the United States' government, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations' (NGOs) participation in various humanitarian relief operations. Most studies cover the successes and failures of various relief operations in order to better understand what areas can be improved. Few look at the specific decision-making process of the governments and organizations involved. Articles that do tend to focus on the individual causes of a government's participation, rather than analyzing multiple factors. As a result, the articles generally fail to address alternate reasoning for a nation's participation. In addition, there are a multitude of studies highlighting why a government would not get involved in a humanitarian relief operation.

Overall, the literature reaches two overarching conclusions about why countries participate in relief and humanitarian efforts: moral obligation and soft power benefits. It also reaches two conclusions for why they do not provide aid: the legality of participation and the difficulties with implementing relief.

Moral Obligation. The United States government appears to have a moral obligation to help other countries after a disaster strikes.¹⁷⁰ Humanitarianism is defined as “the principle under which moral sentiments enter the political sphere.”¹⁷¹ Moral

170. Steven Kull, “American Public Support for Foreign Aid in the Age of Trump,” *Brookings*, last updated July 31, 2017, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/american-public-support-for-foreign-aid-in-the-age-of-trump/>.

171. Didier Fassin, “The Predicament of Humanitarianism,” *Qui Parle: Critical Humanities and Social Science* 22, no. 1 (2013): 37.

sentiments in government are not restricted to disaster areas, but involve making political decisions based on the suffering of people that are less fortunate.¹⁷² Because of this perceived moral obligation, politicians are eager to back legislation in order to win the support of their constituents. This has been demonstrated many times through the actions of the American government. For example, in the 1980s, the United States came to the aid of Ethiopia during its famine. In describing why the United States was involved President Ronald Reagan famously said: “a hungry child knows no politics.”¹⁷³

Humanitarian reasoning is a powerful force in American politics because it carries a strong message of saving lives and preventing innocent suffering.¹⁷⁴ This message influences the public’s opinion, which is a “crucial audience for humanitarian action”¹⁷⁵ A politician is more likely to support humanitarian legislation if it is popular among his or her constituents. This is evident because when humanitarian relief operations are covered by the news, it is the stories of the participating government, not the affected individuals that get spread.¹⁷⁶ The news has to highlight the positive operations of the nation involved in order to emphasize that a country’s contributions are successful. In these operations, “it is never enough to be building houses: the donor country or countries must, also, *be seen to be* building those houses.”¹⁷⁷ Ultimately, the perceived moral obligation of a nation to help those in need is a powerful force in the decision to provide

172. Ibid., 37-38.

173. Alexander Poster, “Gentle War: Famine Relief, Politics, and Privatization in Ethiopia, 1983-1986,” *Diplomatic History* 36, no. 2 (2012): 400.

174. Ibid., 40.

175. James Thompson, “Humanitarian Performance and the Asian Tsunami,” *The Drama Review* 55, no. 1, (2011): 72.

176. Didier Fassin, “The Predicament of Humanitarianism,” *Qui Parle: Critical Humanities and Social Science* 22, no. 1 (2013): 36.

177. James Thompson, “Humanitarian Performance and the Asian Tsunami,” *The Drama Review* 55, no. 1, (2011): 74.

aid.

Soft Power. Involvement in humanitarian relief potentially influences a nation's soft power. Soft power is defined as "the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment."¹⁷⁸ This attraction is built through "culture, values, and policies," and sharing these factors expands a country's influence.¹⁷⁹ "Aid, and its visibility, is an opportunity for the development of international relations and enhancing the reputation of a particular nation: it is part of a strategic mission."¹⁸⁰

The basis of soft power lies in America's ability to gain a political advantage overseas without using an expensive military force.¹⁸¹ "Foreign interventions, benign or not, shape attitudes. In addition to their charitable mission, humanitarian assistance operations are also considered to have a positive informational component, contributing to improved perceptions of the United States."¹⁸² The impacts of humanitarian intervention have been explored previously by analyzing the favorability polls in countries where America provided aid. By comparing the United States' favorability ratings before and after relief was provided, research showed that participating in these operations gave America a positive view among citizens in the country that they helped.

183

Participation in humanitarian relief operations is another tool for politicians to use

178. Joseph S. Nye Jr., "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (2008): 94.

179. Ibid.

180. James Thompson, "Humanitarian Performance and the Asian Tsunami," *The Drama Review* 55, no. 1, (2011): 74.

181. James E. McGinley, Louis P. Kelley, and Laura M. Thurston Goodroe, "Soft Power the Limits of Humanitarian Intervention," *American Intelligence Journal* 30, no. 2 (2012): 34.

182. Ibid.

183. Ibid., 37.

while advancing their own agendas. For example, President Ronald Reagan started the campaign to help Ethiopia in the 1980s because ignoring an internationally recognized famine would have negatively impacted his foreign policy plan.¹⁸⁴ In 1992, the United States “authorized the Overseas Humanitarian Disaster and Civic Aid Program (OHDACA) to allow the Department of Defense (DoD) to transport humanitarian supplies” in order to help achieve strategic goals.¹⁸⁵ OHDACA gives America the ability to utilize soft power operations through the DoD. Since this program’s implementation, it has helped countries all over the world including Iraq, Afghanistan, Indonesia, the Philippines, Djibouti, Kenya, Ghana, and Bolivia.¹⁸⁶ Additionally, military operations in Afghanistan have been focused on winning the hearts and minds of the local population as a part of the nation-building strategy of the United States. Gaining the support of the local population through humanitarian operations diverts support away from the terrorist groups in the area.¹⁸⁷ The United States is a world power, and the international community expects its assistance in times of need. It just so happens that filling this role also accomplishes America’s strategic objective of expanding its influence across the world.

Legality. Despite the positive reasons for government participation in humanitarian relief operations, there are barriers to one country helping another. One such barrier is the legality of intervention and the sovereignty of the states involved. The

184. Alexander Poster, “Gentle War: Famine Relief, Politics, and Privatization in Ethiopia, 1983-1986,” *Diplomatic History* 36, no. 2 (2012): 400.

185. Margaret Ellis Bourdeaux, Lynn Lawry, Eugene V. Bonventre, and Frederick M. Burkle Jr, “Involvement of the US Department of Defense in Civilian Assistance, Part I: A Quantitative Description of the Projects Funded by the Overseas Humanitarian, Disaster, and Civic Aid Program,” *Disaster Medicine and Public Health Preparedness* 4, no.1 (2010).

186. Ibid.

187. Jamie A. Williamson, “Using Humanitarian Aid to ‘Win Hearts and Minds’: A Costly Failure?,” *International Review of the Red Cross* 93 no.884 (2011): 1036.

complexities required with executing humanitarian intervention cause it to “remain a rare and selective event,” and because of these difficulties, it takes a truly horrible situation for the United Nations Security Council to get involved.¹⁸⁸ In the 1990s, the United Nation’s Security Council tended to avoid humanitarian issues that involved a sovereign country with a recognized leader. “Perpetrator governments were unlikely to be subject to humanitarian intervention during the 1990’s unless the sovereignty of the perpetrator government was suspended or delegitimized by the Security Council.”¹⁸⁹ This, however, appears to be changing as the United Nations’ humanitarian intervention in Libya occurred while it was a sovereign nation. In order to allow for this, the council declared that the crisis was “not only considered a threat to international peace and security but also an assault on common humanity.”¹⁹⁰ This shift shows a growing acceptance of the demand to provide relief to those that need it despite the legalities of intervening in another country’s affairs.

Another way state sovereignty affects relief efforts is that the choice to provide resources or receive help is up to the individual nations. Governments will only participate in relief if it is in their best interest to do so, and even if a country decides to help, it is often unclear how much they can assist. For example, “the UN may only offer such services as its members are willing to provide and may possess only so much legitimacy and authority as its members voluntarily accord it.”¹⁹¹ It is difficult to interact with another country in crisis, especially if that country limits what aid they are willing to

188. Carrie Booth Walling, “Human Rights Norms, State Sovereignty, and Humanitarian Intervention,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (2015): 384.

189. *Ibid.*, 412-413.

190. *Ibid.*, 413.

191. Max Stephenson, “Bridging the Organizational Divide: A Comparative Institutional Analysis of the United States and International Humanitarian Service Delivery Structures,” *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 18, no. 3 (2007), 219.

accept. All of this research shows that international laws, and the regulations in a specific country, impact the decision of a state or organization to provide humanitarian relief.

Difficulties in Implementing Relief. Humanitarian relief operations are more popular than they use to be, and because of this, extra resources are devoted to them.

“Since the end of the Cold War there has been an exponential increase in the scope, visibility, and size of the international humanitarian movement.”¹⁹² With these increases, there has also been a growth in the number of states and NGOs that show up when a country is in need. Each organization comes with a separate command structure and its own objectives in mind. This is “the result of haphazard growth on a lot of separate and often very different organizations which needed much great coordination and coherence to be properly effective.”¹⁹³ Their lack of efficiency leads to resources being wasted. Additionally, within these organizations there is “a lack of formal rules [which] provide [states] with maximum flexibility in the event of an emergency”¹⁹⁴ This flexibility can be a good thing because it offers opportunities to provide aid to all who need it, but unfortunately it causes more problems than benefits. “On the whole, this flexibility comes at a substantial price in preventable delays, expenses, and administrative barriers to relief operations.”¹⁹⁵ This inefficiency makes executing humanitarian operations increasingly expensive.

Another factor driving the cost and difficulty of humanitarian relief is that states and NGOs are more effective at successfully at preventing loss of life. Advancing

192. James Thompson, “Humanitarian Performance and the Asian Tsunami,” *The Drama Review* 55, no. 1, (2011): 72.

193. John Holmes, “Humanitarian Response in the 21st Century,” *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 17, no. 2 (2001): 115.

194. David Fisher, “International Disaster Relief: A Growing Regulatory Dilemma,” *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting: American Society of International Law* 101 (2007):114.

195. Ibid.

technology has allowed for information on a disaster to be instantly available and potentially gives workers the ability to arrive on-site in a matter of hours with emergency equipment in hand.¹⁹⁶ These capabilities help ensure that basic human needs are met in a disaster area quickly. Now, relief operations must last longer in order to care for all of the people in the region that are still alive. The basic survival needs have been met by an expanding community of relief organizations, but these difficulties raise the cost and make coordination harder between all of the different groups and countries that are helping.¹⁹⁷ With this progress, the expectations of relief operations have grown, and it is apparent that the current method cannot provide the optimal solution.

Another concern among governments is that “international humanitarian relief program circumstances actually serve to prolong conflict.”¹⁹⁸ This does not necessarily mean that help should not be given to those in need, but individual countries or NGOs must consider the consequences before committing resources. Relief efforts may last for years, and are increasingly expensive. One area that countries focus on is humanitarian relief in a combat zone. Civilians in a war area are in desperate need for help, but it can be risky to provide relief to them if there is not an active movement to also end the conflict.¹⁹⁹

All together, these studies reveal the complexity involved in a government’s decision to help another country in crisis. A state’s resources are limited, and utilizing any of them on another country must be carefully thought out with the pros and cons

196. John Holmes, “Humanitarian Response in the 21st Century,” *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 17, no. 2 (2001): 113.

197. *Ibid.*, 115.

198. *Ibid.*, 116.

199. Ronak D. Patel and Hannah B. Wild, “To Do No Harm: Humanitarian Aid in Conflict Demands Political Engagement,” *Disaster Medicine and Public Health Preparedness* (2018): 2.

weighed. For one, humanitarian relief participation is a morally appropriate decision, and the citizens of a country can rally around a relief movement. Strategically, participation also increases that country's soft power in a region. These benefits must be carefully compared to the loss of resources provided to a complicated, inefficient system, and the danger that participating in an operation could put the country at risk for prolonged intervention.

Data/Methodology

This thesis chapter examines the question: "Is the United States' decision to provide humanitarian relief affected by its existing relationship with the country involved or its need for influence in the region?" As the literature review identified, this is a complicated question. There are many factors that contribute to a nation getting involved in humanitarian operations, and every situation is different. This chapter explores the following hypothesis: The United States provides a quicker response with more resources to a humanitarian crisis when it has a strong existing relationship with the affected country and desire to obtain more influence in the region. The disaster endangers a significant amount of the population and destroys the country's existing infrastructure. To test this hypothesis, the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami and the 2011 Japanese tsunami are examined as case studies. Both instances involved a strong earthquake that produced a devastating tsunami, affected millions of people in the same region of the world, and are within a decade of one another.

The 2004 Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunami

On December 24, 2004, a magnitude 9.1 earthquake struck the Indian Ocean off

the coast of Sumatra.²⁰⁰ Immediately following the earthquake, a series of massive tsunamis with waves ranging from 65-100 feet tall, were detected. The bulk of these waves struck the province of Aceh in Indonesia, which was only 60 miles from the epicenter of the earthquake.²⁰¹ The tsunami decimated everything in its path, and the 320,000 residents of Banda Aceh (the capital near the coastline) were either killed or homeless. After striking Aceh, the tsunami continued to spread throughout the Indian Ocean, ultimately “kill[ing] over 230,000 people and displac[ing] 1.7 million across 14 countries.”²⁰² Of all the damage caused by the tsunami, Aceh took the brunt of it. “[T]he ratio of dead to injured survivors was 6:1.”²⁰³ After the water subsided, the 1.7 million survivors found their livelihood and possessions gone, and now had to make a plan for the future.

After the immediate danger from the waves had passed, the worst was far from over. At that point, they fought to prevent a secondary crisis due to lack of adequate shelter, food, and clean water. In Indonesia alone, the refugees needed over 700 tonnes of food a day. Relief forces utilized aircraft, trucks, and ships to deliver the supplies in a massive coordinated operation.²⁰⁴ In addition to providing food and water, all of the displaced people required enough tents to support entire cities.²⁰⁵ These efforts saved

200. “Magnitude 9.1 – Off Coast of Northern Sumatra,” *United States Geological Survey*, accessed July 22, 2018, <https://web.archive.org/web/20120817004055/http://earthquake.usgs.gov/earthquakes/eqinthenews/2004/us2004slav/>.

201. Helen Gibbons and Guy Gelfenbaum, “Astonishing Wave Heights Among the Findings of an International Tsunami Survey Team on Sumatra,” *United States Geological Survey*, last updated March, 2005, <https://soundwaves.usgs.gov/2005/03/>.

202. Eddie Bernard, “Tsunamis: Are We Underestimating the Risk?,” *Oceanography* 25, no. 2 (2012): 208.
203. Ibid.

204 “Delivering the Aid,” *BBC News*, last updated September 10, 2008, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/world/04/asia_quake/relief_effort/html/3.stm.

205. “At A Glance- Countries Hit,” *BBC News*, last updated December 22, 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/4126019.stm>.

many lives, but they still could not prevent the spread of diseases as living conditions suffered, and unclean water was consumed by survivors.²⁰⁶

Along with a total loss of infrastructure in cities throughout the region, the Asian economy suffered greatly following the event. The primary industries in these countries were gone overnight. Fishing, farming, local commerce, and the multimillion-dollar tourist industry suffered major losses. The magnitude of destruction took every country involved by surprise, but the international support was instantaneous. Ultimately, “the world’s response to this terrible natural disaster was an unprecedented \$13.5 billion in international aid, including \$5.5 billion from the general public in developed nations.”²⁰⁷

Initially, the United States provided \$15 million to the nations hit by the Tsunami.²⁰⁸ This number grew amid critiques from the international community and as the situation grew in severity.²⁰⁹ In the end, “the US response to this international disaster was swift, generous, and effective, including approximately \$1 billion in aid from the US government.”²¹⁰ In response to the tsunami and the American government’s response to it, President George W. Bush said “From our own experiences, we know that nothing can take away the grief of those affected by tragedy. We also know that Americans have a history of rising to meet great humanitarian challenges and of providing hope to suffering peoples.”²¹¹ America provided this hope primarily through the DoD in Operation

206 “Giant Waves Damage S Asia Economy,” *BBC News*, last updated December 28, 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4127433.stm>.

207. Eddie Bernard, “Tsunamis: Are We Underestimating the Risk?,” *Oceanography* 25, no. 2 (2012): 208.

208. “U.N. Official Slams U.S. as ‘Stingy’ Over Aid,” *The Washington Times*, last updated December 28, 2004, <http://2011disaster.jcie.org/philanthropy/usgiving-2014/>.

209. “U.S. Ups Tsunami Aid from \$35 Million to \$350 Million,” *CNN*, last updated December 31, 2004, <http://www.cnn.com/2004/US/12/31/us.aid/>.

210. Eddie Bernard, “Tsunamis: Are We Underestimating the Risk?,” *Oceanography* 25, no. 2 (2012): 211.

211. George W. Bush. address January 3, 2005, <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/infocus/tsunami/>.

UNIFIED ASSISTANCE. “By January 5, 2005, only 10 days after the earthquake and tsunamis, UNIFIED ASSISTANCE included over 25 United States Navy ships, 45 fixed-wing aircraft, and 58 helicopters, and delivered more than 610,000 pounds of water, food, and other supplies to the region.”²¹² The military provided capabilities such as cargo airlift and airdrop in order to deliver supplies to stranded people throughout the region.²¹³ In the end, the United States provide \$857 million to all of the regions affected by the Indian Ocean Tsunami,²¹⁴ and America deployed more than 15,000 troops in support of UNIFIED ASSISTANCE.²¹⁵

The DoD was not the only resource that the United States sent to the area, and “within the first day ... U.S. Ambassadors and embassy staff, including USAID missions, were on the ground working with national and regional governments to disburse emergency funds, identify relief needs, and provide rapid assistance.”²¹⁶ This immediately identified what issues limited the abilities of relief work, and submitted plans back to Washington to expedite the process of fixing them.²¹⁷ In addition, the United States led “an international ‘Core Group’ that included Australia, Japan, India, Canada, the Netherlands and the United Nations to coordinate the first stages of the international response.”²¹⁸ The goal of this group was to communicate the capabilities of all the countries and organizations involved in order to efficiently and effectively provide

212. Eddie Bernard, “Tsunamis: Are We Underestimating the Risk?,” *Oceanography* 25, no. 2 (2012): 211.

213. “Delivering the Aid,” *BBC News*, last updated September 10, 2008, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/world/04/asia_quake/relief_effort/html/3.stm.

214. Karl F. Inderfurth, “The 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami: One Year Report,” *The Sigur Center Asia Papers*, (2005): 8.

215. *Ibid.*, 13.

216. Alan P. Larson, “Response of the U.S. Government and the International System to the Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunamis, Testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, February 10, 2005, <https://2001-2009.state.gov/e/rm/2005/42173.htm>.

217. *Ibid.*

218. *Ibid.*

as much relief as possible.²¹⁹ Combined, all of the countries sustained a total of \$15.8 billion in damages²²⁰, and over 1.7 million people were displaced.²²¹ Relief efforts took years to enact, and the tragedy of the tsunami forever changed the region.

In 2004, Indonesia had a population of over 238 million, which was “the world’s fourth largest population after China, India, and the United States.”²²² Historically, Indonesia and the United States have had a weak relationship, filled with minor arguments and few agreements. In 2004, the relationship was at a low point. After the 2001 terrorist attacks, the United States worried about what role Indonesia would play in the Islamic Extremism movements taking over the Middle East.²²³ In addition, Indonesia was undergoing political changes of their own, and “many in Washington feared that Indonesia would become another Yugoslavia: a country long held together by authoritarian rule that would fracture along ethnic and religious lines to become a failed state and threat to regional stability.”²²⁴

Despite these fears and the difficulties working with Indonesia, the United States viewed them as a prime example of what a moderate Islamic country looked like, and they “regard[ed] Indonesia as strategically important in the war against terrorism.”²²⁵ This unlikely alliance faced backlash in Indonesia, because many citizens held the “suspicion that the United States-led war against terrorism [was an] attempt to advance

219. Ibid.

220. Karl F. Inderfurth, “The 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami: One Year Report,” *The Sigur Center Asia Papers*, (2005): 15.

221. Ibid., 8.

222. “Country Profile: Indonesia,” Library of Congress – Federal Research Division, December 2004, 6, <https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/cs/profiles/Indonesia.pdf>.

223. Anthony L. Smith, “A Glass Half Full: Indonesia-U.S. Relations in the Age of Terror,” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 25, no. 3 (2003), 451.

224. Ann Marie Murphy, “US Rapprochement with Indonesia: From Problem State to Partner,” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 32, no. 3 (2012): 363.

225. Ibid.

American power and undermine the Islamic world”²²⁶ This belief fueled anti-American movements within the country, and were supported by many Indonesian politicians. Ultimately, when the Tsunami struck in 2004, the relationship between the United States and Indonesia was contentious, but the United States still provided Indonesia at least \$245 million for roads alone.²²⁷ This was a generous amount of money to help cover the estimated \$4.45 billion in damages to Indonesia’s infrastructure.²²⁸ This money, and additional operations, also provided relief for the 532,898 people affected.²²⁹ The Indonesian government was receptive to United States’ aid, but demanded that foreign militaries leave their country by the end of March 2005.²³⁰

Indonesia was the hardest hit, but India also saw extensive losses. India incurred \$1.22 billion in damages,²³¹ far less than Indonesia, but they had a total of 647,599 individuals affected.²³² In 2004, relations between India and the United States were strong. “India's size, its increased economic interdependence with the United States, its political stability, its democratic form of government, and its geographical placement all ma[de] it a priority for foreign policy.”²³³ In the early 2000s, the United States “felt that the role of a ‘dynamic and democratic India’ might help shape ‘the Asian balance and tackling global challenges,’” specifically to counter Pakistan and China.²³⁴ The efforts to

226. Anthony L. Smith, “A Glass Half Full: Indonesia-U.S. Relations in the Age of Terror,” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 25, no. 3 (2003), 450.

227. Karl F. Inderfurth, “The 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami: One Year Report,” *The Sigur Center Asia Papers*, (2005): 13.

228. *Ibid.*, 15.

229. *Ibid.*, 8.

230. *Ibid.*

231. *Ibid.*, 15.

232. *Ibid.*, 8.

233. Sharif Shuja, “The United States and India,” *International Journal on World Peace* 23, no.2 (2006) 35-47.

234. B.M. Jain, “Upward Graph in Strategic Ties Between India and the United States: Implications for Asian Security Architecture,” *Indian Journal of Asian Affairs* 29, no. 1 (2016), 2.

partner with India started in the 1990s under the Clinton administration, and culminated in January 2004 when President Bush agreed to The Next Steps in Strategic Partnership.²³⁵ This alliance “paved the way for mutual cooperation in civilian nuclear energy and space program, high-technology trade, and missile defense development.”²³⁶ In addition to these efforts, India played a strategic role in the region because of its nuclear capability.²³⁷ The United States had great interest in keeping India as a strategic ally, but after the tsunami, India was reluctant to accept aid. Indian officials even received criticism for hindering relief operations in their country.²³⁸

Aside from India, one of the smaller countries affected by the tsunami was Sri Lanka. The tsunami hit Sri Lanka harder than India, but it had less damage than the devastated Indonesia. In 2004, America’s interactions with Sri Lanka were limited, though America started taking an increased interest in Sri Lanka peace in late 2001.²³⁹ This search for influence contrasted with the strategic value Sri Lanka had for America.²⁴⁰ In fact, “the United States [had] no significant *strategic* interests in Sri Lanka, certainly in comparison to other areas of enhanced United States engagement.”²⁴¹ At the time, the American military held a positive relationship with Sri Lanka’s armed forces, but they were not as integrated or involved as they were with other countries in the region.²⁴²

235. Ibid.

236. Ibid.

237. Ibid.

238. Rhoda Margesson, “Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunami: Humanitarian Assistance and Relief Operations,” *Congressional Research Service*, February 10, 2005, 8.

239 Jeffrey Lunstead, “The United States’ Role in Sri Lanka’s Peace Process 2002-2006,” *The Asian Foundation*, (2007): 11.

240. Ibid.

241. Ibid.

242. Ibid.

Economically, American “interests in Sri Lanka [were] limited. United States trade with Sri Lanka [was] relatively insignificant, at about \$2.3 billion in 2005.”²⁴³ The only strategic interest Sri Lanka held in 2004 “derived from the feeling in the post-September 11, 2001 world that the threat from terrorism had to be confronted globally, and that governments facing terrorist threats should cooperate against them.”²⁴⁴ In this role, the United States took a stronger position than they previously had with Sri Lanka, but still support trailed behind other countries in the region. After the tsunami hit, Sri Lanka was provided \$134.6 million in relief supplies²⁴⁵ to counteract the estimated \$1.45 billion in damages sustained by the country.²⁴⁶ This money went to the estimated 519,063 displaced people within Sri Lanka.²⁴⁷ The government accepted United States assistance, but kept a close watch on the funds and “issued guidelines for construction near the coast.”²⁴⁸

The 2011 Japanese Tsunami

On March 11, 2011, a 9.1 magnitude earthquake occurred off the northeast coast of Honshu, Japan.²⁴⁹ Instantly, massive waves large enough to swallow a three-story building rose up from the ocean, and proceeded outward.²⁵⁰ Being the closest to the epicenter, Japan took the brunt of the damage, though significantly smaller waves from

243. Ibid.

244. Ibid., 14.

245. “US Tsunami Aid to Sri Lanka for 2005 Tops \$135 Million,” *The Asian Tribune*, December 31, 2005, <http://www.asiantribune.com/us-tsunami-aid-sri-lanka-2005-tops-135-million>.

246. Karl F. Inderfurth, “The 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami: One Year Report,” *The Sigur Center Asia Papers*, (2005): 15.

247. Ibid., 8.

248. Ibid., 7.

249. “M 9.1 – Near the East Coast of Honshu, Japan,” *United States Geological Survey*, accessed July 22, 2018, https://earthquake.usgs.gov/earthquakes/eventpage/official20110311054624120_30#executive.

250. “Japan Tsunami: Wave Heights – March 11, 2011,” *NOAA*, accessed July 22, 2018, <https://sos.noaa.gov/datasets/japan-tsunami-wave-heights-march-11-2011/>.

the tsunami reached as far as California.²⁵¹ The time residents had between the earthquake hitting and the coast getting struck by the tsunami was between 10-30 minutes to get to higher ground and move away from the coast.²⁵² Many people were unprepared, or received no warning. When the wave struck, thousands of people stood between it and safety. Whole buildings, trains, ships, roads, and bridges were swept away with individuals on them.

This event devastated Japan. On June 8, 2018, the National Police Agency of Japan released their updated estimates of the damages caused by the tsunami. Their final numbers were 15,896 people killed, 2,537 people missing, and 6,157 people injured. In the end, over 1.7 million buildings were destroyed or damaged, along with over 4,400 roads and bridges.²⁵³ In the end Japan suffered \$235 billion in damages to the country,²⁵⁴ and had over 470,000 displaced people.²⁵⁵ These numbers are significant, but fail to capture the overarching panic that developed from the issues this much damaged caused. After the event, over two million households were without power, and the roads in the localized area of the tsunami were damaged so badly it affected shipments of equipment and supplies. Sendai's airport "suffered extensive damage," and six major shipping yards were destroyed.²⁵⁶ All of this damage hindered rescue and relief operations to the point of

251. Roland Buerk, "Japan Earthquake: Tsunami Hits North-East," *BBC News*, March 11, 2011, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-12709598>.

252. "Japan Tsunami: Wave Heights – March 11, 2011," *NOAA*, accessed July 22, 2018, <https://sos.noaa.gov/datasets/japan-tsunami-wave-heights-march-11-2011/>.

253. "Police Countermeasures and Damage Situations Associated with 2011 Tohoku District – Off the Pacific Ocean Earthquake," *National Police Agency of Japan*, June 8, 2018, https://www.npa.go.jp/news/other/earthquake2011/pdf/higaijokyo_e.pdf.

254. Bevan Hamilton, "Fukushima 5 Years Later: 2011 Disaster by the Numbers," *CBC News*, March 10, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/5-years-after-fukushima-by-the-numbers-1.3480914>.

255. *Ibid.*

256. Saira Syed, "Japan Quake: Infrastructure Damage Will Delay Recovery," *BBC News*, last updated March 17, 2011, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-12756379>.

endangering those people that survived the tsunami. Initial efforts to provide food, water, and other supplies were well under acceptable levels, as authorities could only deliver ten percent of them to the region.²⁵⁷

On the day the tsunami struck, efforts began to help protect survivors and evacuate the area. This evacuation became a massive operation as over 180,000 people had to be relocated from Fukushima after the nuclear reactors started melting down.²⁵⁸ Japan's grief from the event was met with a considerable international movement to provide humanitarian relief to the devastated country.

The United States was quick to support their ally, and sent the military to provide humanitarian relief to the area in Operation Tomodachi.²⁵⁹ President Obama said of the event, "The United States stands ready to help the Japanese people in this time of great trial. The friendship and alliance between our two nations is unshakeable, and only strengthens our resolve to stand with the people of Japan as they overcome this tragedy."²⁶⁰ The United States took this stance when the 7th Fleet showed up and provided personnel and equipment to help deliver food, water, and supplies to the stranded population. United States forces were deployed and assisting Japan within 24 hours of the disaster.²⁶¹ In addition, they supported with search and rescue efforts in the area. The DoD also opened airfield operations at the United States-owned Yokota Air

257. "Millions of Stricken Japanese Lack Water, Food, Heat," *NPR*, <https://www.npr.org/2011/03/18/134527591/millions-of-stricken-japanese-lack-water-food-heat>.

258. *Ibid*.

259. Ken Dilanian and Washington Bureau, "U.S. Military, Aid Teams Headed for Japan," *Los Angeles Times*, last updated March 12, 2011, <http://www.latimes.com/world/sc-dc-japan-quake-us-relief-20110313-story.html>.

260. Barack Obama, address March 11, 2011, <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/03/11/statement-president-earthquake-japan-and-resulting-tsunami-warning-throu>.

261. Andrew Feickert, "Japan 2011 Earthquake: U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) Response," *Congressional Research Service*, June 2, 2011, 1.

Base near Tokyo to accept aircraft that could not land at Narita Airport.²⁶² This operation deployed approximately 20,000 troops, including over 18,000 personnel from the Navy. Nineteen ships and 140 aircraft provided the capability to deliver critical supplies in hard-to-reach locations. Many of these military personnel came from the 50,000 troops already stationed in Japan.²⁶³ All of these efforts were praised by the Japanese Government, who was receptive to the United States' participation. Prime Minister Naoto Kan even stated, "the United States has been making various proposals from a very early stage. At least, as far as I know, we have gladly accepted almost all of their offers, and all that are necessary."²⁶⁴

After the immediate actions to stabilize the situation, Japan moved toward reconstruction. This required clearing out miles of cluttered land while building new homes, roads, and docks. This entire infrastructure was required to rebuild the community and economy that was lost. One of the biggest issues was the impact on the Japanese economy. "Reemployment [was] a major issue. The disaster-stricken region is home to many parts manufacturers, farmers and fishermen. The area's fisheries industry in particular has always thrived."²⁶⁵ Rebuilding that market was crucial to the area regaining stability.

The Japan Center for International Exchange researched the total funds provided by the United States government and its citizens to this tragedy, and discovered that,

262. Ken Dilanian and Washington Bureau, "U.S. Military, Aid Teams Headed for Japan," *Los Angeles Times*, last updated March 12, 2011, <http://www.latimes.com/world/sc-dc-japan-quake-us-relief-20110313-story.html>.

263. Eric Talmadge, "US Military in Japan," *NBC News*, last updated March 27, 2011, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/42289464/ns/world_news-asia_pacific/t/disaster-aid-puts-new-face-us-military-japan/#.W1TT0yOZPq0.

264. "Press Conference by Prime Minister Naoto Kan," *Prime Minister Japan and His Cabinet*, April 1, 2011, http://japan.kantei.go.jp/kan/statement/201104/01kaiken_e.html.

265. Ibid.

overall, a total of \$730 Million was given to the country.²⁶⁶ This amount “makes the outpouring of US giving for Japan the largest philanthropic response ever in American history for an overseas disaster in another developed country, and the third largest for any overseas disaster.”²⁶⁷ Deploying 20,000 soldiers and sailors in Operation Tomodachi itself cost the United States military nearly 90 million dollars.²⁶⁸ The final figures from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) showed that America donated an additional \$7 Million in non DoD aid.²⁶⁹ In the end, this disaster strengthened the United States’ partnership with Japan.

After the end of World War II, the United States and Japan built a strong relationship, in fact, “Japan is America’s key ally in the Asia-Pacific, with the United States–Japan alliance the foundation of America’s role as a ‘Pacific’ power.”²⁷⁰ Japan allowed the United States to extend their influence into the Pacific region, and served as a key ally during the Cold War. This relationship started with an American promise to provide security to Japan, and in exchange, they were allowed to open military bases on Japanese islands.²⁷¹ The Japanese began questioning their role in this arrangement in the early 2000s. “Conservative Japanese politicians... began implementing a revisionist idea of Japan as a normal nation.”²⁷² This movement called for increased participation from

266. “US Giving for Japan Disaster Reaches \$730 Million,” *Japan Center for International Exchange*, last updated March, 2014, <http://2011disaster.jcie.org/philanthropy/usgiving-2014/>.

267. Ibid.

268. Eric Johnston, “Operation Tomodachi a Huge Success, But was it a One-Off?,” *Japan Times*, last updated March 3, 2012, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2012/03/03/national/operation-tomodachi-a-huge-success-but-was-it-a-one-off/#.W1U0OiOZOu4>.

269. James E. McGinley, Louis P. Kelley, and Laura M. Thurston Goodroe, “Soft Power the Limits of Humanitarian Intervention,” *American Intelligence Journal* 30, no. 2 (2012): 34.

270. Michael Wesley, “Japan: From Passive Partner to Active Ally,” in *Global Allies: Comparing US Alliances in the 21st Century*, (ANU Press, 2017), 15.

271. Ibid.

272. Ibid., 21.

the Japanese government in security issues. They wanted the relationship to shift from America protecting Japan to a more symbiotic security relationship. Ultimately, “It also aimed to revise the United States–Japan alliance so that Japan would have greater autonomy from the United States and so that the relationship would become more ‘equal.’”²⁷³

Analysis

This chapter evaluates the American response to humanitarian crisis through the lens of the governmental relationship with the affected country. As stated above, the hypothesis is that the United States provides a quicker response with more resources to a humanitarian crisis when it has a strong existing relationship with the affected country and a desire to obtain more influence in the region. The 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami and the 2011 Japanese tsunami each provide an example to analyze this argument, as the United States provided substantial aid in both events. Additionally, both disasters affected millions of people in the same region of the world, and occurred within a decade of each other.

While both of these events involved an earthquake and a tsunami, the tragedies were not the same, and these variances must be acknowledged. For one, the scope of damage between the two events is different. The Indian Ocean tsunami killed over 200,000 more people, and displaced over a million more than the Japanese tsunami. Fourteen nations were affected by this event, compared to the one affected by the 2011 Japan tsunami.²⁷⁴ Many of the areas affected in 2004 were undeveloped, which created a different set of problems for relief workers. For example, Aceh was a complete loss,

273. Ibid., 25.

274. Eddie Bernard, “Tsunamis: Are We Underestimating the Risk?,” *Oceanography* 25, no. 2 (2012): 208.

largely because the city was not designed to survive an event like that. The undeveloped areas would also have less governmental support in overcoming the issues. The Japanese government had resources in place to start providing aid quickly, and while they could not do it alone, there was a system already in place to divide supplies. Despite these differences, the events provide crucial clues to answer the hypothesis.

Studies of humanitarian relief had identified two reasons why countries intervene—moral obligation and soft power—and two reasons why they might not intervene--legality of participation and the difficulties with implementing relief. The rest of this chapter analyzes these two events and compares the United States decision making based on these four factors. The United States' initial commitment to the 2004 tsunami was concerning, and highlights the importance of soft power for America in the international community. The day after the event, President Bush pledged \$15 million dollars to the crisis. At that time, the scope of the devastation was limited, but the number faced immense international backlash.²⁷⁵ It appeared that the United States did not care about the countries in that part of the world. Once that message was received by the public, President Bush immediately raised the pledge for aid. This number continued to grow as more details about the tragedy emerged. This scenario does raise into question the international response to United States aid. President Bush made an error that affected America's soft power abroad when he initially committed fewer resources than other nations. Whether this was intentional or not, the United States ended up making a significant impression on the international community after donating nearly \$1 billion in

275. "U.N. Official Slams U.S. as 'Stingy' Over Aid," *The Washington Times*, last updated December 28, 2004, "Giant Waves Damage S Asia Economy," *BBC News*, last updated December 28, 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4127433.stm>.

aid.²⁷⁶

Both of these events also highlight the government's moral obligation to participate in humanitarian relief. Both President Bush and President Obama appealed to the morality of assistance in their remarks on the events. In addition, public donations in both examples were generous, and ultimately, millions of dollars were donated by American citizens for relief. This supports the idea that Americans were invested in the tragedies, and through their donations, American citizens demonstrated to their government officials that they demanded humanitarian relief be provided to these afflicted populations.

These examples also highlight the complications of dealing with other countries. The United States had a strong relationship with Japan, and the Japanese government allowed the United States to assist a great deal.²⁷⁷ They provided an airfield to support the delivery of aid, and Japan accepted nearly all offers the United States gave them.²⁷⁸ Conversely, the Indian Ocean tsunami involved 14 different countries of varying development.²⁷⁹ India reacted differently than Indonesia and Sri Lanka. India wanted to take care of itself as much as possible, and even hindered relief operations in their country.²⁸⁰ Indonesia agreed to military help for only a certain amount of time, and demanded that foreign militaries leave their country on their own terms.²⁸¹ Sri Lanka

276. Eddie Bernard, "Tsunamis: Are We Underestimating the Risk?," *Oceanography* 25, no. 2 (2012): 211.

277. "Press Conference by Prime Minister Naoto Kan," *Prime Minister Japan and His Cabinet*, April 1, 2011, http://japan.kantei.go.jp/kan/statement/201104/01kaiken_e.html.

278. Ibid.

279. Eddie Bernard, "Tsunamis: Are We Underestimating the Risk?," *Oceanography* 25, no. 2 (2012): 208.

280. Rhoda Margesson, "Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunami: Humanitarian Assistance and Relief Operations," *Congressional Research Service*, February 10, 2005, 8, https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20050210_RL32715_2d66b08bc9c327def76ddcdab6fcdd4151d04c7c.pdf.

281. Ibid.

accepted United States assistance uniquely as well, and even “issued guidelines for construction near the coast.”²⁸²

Of the four countries, Japan held the most positive relationship with the United States prior to their disaster. The country is still America’s most valuable ally in the Pacific, and holds America’s military bases. In 2011, this was also the case, though Japan’s desire to redefine the alliance may have placed the United States government in a situation where they wanted to remain relevant.²⁸³ Of the three countries affected in the Indian Ocean tsunami, India had the strongest relationship with the United States. The country was a democracy with nuclear capabilities, and is one of the largest countries in the world. Its government and military made it a strong ally in a region that also contained Pakistan and China. In addition, the United States and India had just agreed on a new deal bringing them closer together in early 2004.²⁸⁴ Indonesia on the other hand, was a country where many citizens held negative feelings towards the United States. America wanted a closer relationship with the Muslim country and hoped they would serve as an ally in the War Against Terrorism.²⁸⁵ Lastly, compared to the other countries, the United States held a weak relationship with Sri Lanka in 2004. While America was involved with Sri Lanka, the country had little strategic value. The United States had small interest in growing the relationship past where it already was.²⁸⁶

The United States provided humanitarian relief at differing speeds for the Indian

282. Ibid., 7.

283. Michael Wesley, “Japan: From Passive Partner to Active Ally,” in *Global Allies: Comparing US Alliances in the 21st Century*, (ANU Press, 2017), 25.

284. B.M. Jain, “Upward Graph in Strategic Ties Between India and the United States: Implications for Asian Security Architecture,” *Indian Journal of Asian Affairs* 29, no. 1 (2016), 1-16.

285. Ann Marie Murphy, “US Rapprochement with Indonesia: From Problem State to Partner,” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 32, no. 3 (2012): 363.

286. Jeffrey Lunstead, “The United States’ Role in Sri Lanka’s Peace Process 2002-2006,” *The Asian Foundation*, (2007): 11.

Ocean tsunami and the Japanese tsunami. American aid to the Indian Ocean tsunami started small and gradually grew to become substantial. The United States still provided assistance to the affected countries within 24 hours, but it was limited. Japan, on the other hand, received significant aid quickly. United States military forces arrived and assisted in relief operations within 24 hours of the event, and the initial commitment from the United States was larger as well. Of course, this could be due to the military presence already in country. The Pacific fleet possessed resources in Japan that could assist right away, and the United States Air Force had aircraft in Yakota Air Base ready for instant deployment.

The United States provided substantial aid to all of the countries involved in these two crises. As Figure 1 points out, Indonesia received \$459.75 in American aid per person displaced, and Sri Lanka received \$259.31 per person. The entire Indian Ocean Tsunami disaster saw \$504.11 per person and 1 American soldier was provided to assist per 113 displaced individuals. These numbers are based on the allocated aid given to each country, and are made by dividing the amount of American aid provided by the number of displaced persons. Using this analysis, Japan received \$206.38 per affected person, and 1 American soldier was provided to assist per every 23.5 displaced Japanese citizens.

These numbers highlight some aspects of United States humanitarian relief. Sri Lanka received the least amount of aid in the group, and Indonesia received the most. These numbers also were only the announced amount of aid provided to each country. With the Indian Ocean region totaling \$857 million of aid, it is possible that each country received additional, broader funds. This is highlighted by the fact that the whole region

received an average of \$504.11 per displaced person. More United States soldiers were sent to Japan, but this could be due to the military bases already located there. In addition, many Americans live in Japan on these bases, so the United States is interested in protecting them.

Any United States response to a humanitarian crisis will utilize its effective military. The Air Force, Navy, and Marines provide a unique skillset that expand relief operations and can provide critical supplies to any place in the world at any time. When comparing the DoD response to each of these events, the numbers are similar. Operation Tomodachi deployed approximately 20,000 troops, 19 ships, and 140 aircraft.²⁸⁷ UNIFIED ASSISTANCE included 6 additional US Navy ships over the Japan response, but provided only 103 total aircraft.²⁸⁸ The fewer aircraft could be accounted for due to the lack of airbases in the Indian Ocean. Yakota Air Base is in Japan, and the United States has aircraft in Korea. The location in the 2011 tsunami was also more centralized. The 2004 event required a wider area of coverage, and while aircraft can fly anywhere, they are significantly limited in the amount of supplies they can deliver. In comparison, navy ships can carry much more.

Japan received less government aid than the countries affected by the Indian Ocean tsunami, but they received more American soldiers. Multiple reasons account for this. For one, the United States already had a strong military presence in the country, so military assets were already within helping distance after the disaster struck. Secondly, Japan was a more established country than Indonesia or Sri Lanka. The Japanese

287. Eric Talmadge, "US Military in Japan," *NBC News*, last updated March 27, 2011, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/42289464/ns/world_news-asia_pacific/t/disaster-aid-puts-new-face-us-military-japan/#.W1TT0yOZPq0.

288. Eddie Bernard, "Tsunamis: Are We Underestimating the Risk?," *Oceanography* 25, no. 2 (2012): 211.

government was more prepared to react to a disaster like this, and there were existing systems already in place to distribute supplies. Additional aid was needed because Japan did not have enough resources to complete the recovery alone, but they already possessed the infrastructure to rebuild. Japan also Ultimately, many factors contributed to Japan receiving less money than the Indian Ocean region.

The most significant factor supporting this chapter's hypothesis was that the United States only increased aid for the Indian Ocean tsunami after international backlash. While America eventually increased the amount of aid, the government's initial pledge of \$15 million paled in comparison to other developed countries. It appeared as if the United States did not want to commit resources to the disaster and was testing the international community to see if countries were actually watching their response. Only after it was highlighted negatively did American change its position. One can argue that the initial amount was given when the United States government did not fully understand the significance of the event, but damage was still done to America's image. This was not the case with Japan. The initial pledge for Japan was significant and highlighted America's relationship with their ally. Of course, other factors may have contributed to the decision to help Japan quickly. For one, the United States may have learned from the backlash after the Indian Ocean tsunami, and did not want to repeat the mistake. Additionally, the United States was under new leadership with President Obama, and America needed to protect its own soldiers living in Japan. Lastly, in 2010, just one year prior to the Japanese tsunami, Japan's economy was valued at \$1.28 trillion, the 3rd largest in the world.²⁸⁹ Their strong economy could affect the amount of aid that a country would

289. David Barboza, "China Passes Japan as Second-Largest Economy," *New York Times*, last modified August 15, 2010. <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/16/business/global/16yuan.html>.

provide them because they may be able to recover on their own. Future studies could explore if there is a correlation between a state's wealth and the amount of donations that a country receives.

An additional explanation for the substantial monetary support provided by the United States to the Indian Ocean tsunami is their desire to increase influence in that region. This would contribute the soft power argument made by the previous literature. The events of 9/11 and the War on Terrorism changed United States international interests. America was already an ally of India, but wanted to improve their relationships with Indonesia. The predominately Muslim country had strategic value that the United States could not ignore. Indonesia had a fraction of the community that was anti-America, and the United States providing critical aid could have improved this view. America was also looking to find allies in Muslim countries that could increase their influence in the Middle East. Indonesia was as an excellent opportunity to gain an ally in the region.

Conclusion

The United States' decision to provide humanitarian aid to a country or region in need is based on many factors. Both the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami and the 2011 Japanese tsunami required the United States government to provide relief to those affected. The swiftness and amount of the relief provided by the United States varied, and America had a stronger relationship with Japan than with Indonesia, India, or Sri Lanka. These case studies support the existing literature on humanitarian relief operations, but they only loosely support this chapter's hypothesis.

The most significant supporting factor is that the United States only increased aid

for the Indian Ocean tsunami after international backlash. This decision made it appear that the United States did not care about the region. After this backlash, America provided substantial funds to the area which also served a strategic role. America wanted to increase influence in the region to assist with the War on Terrorism. Lastly, Japan received less government aid than the other countries affected despite being America's strongest ally. Rather than providing money, the United States provided additional American soldiers.

The next chapter examines in depth the moral obligation and cultural background of Humanitarian Relief operations in the United States through the analysis of the life of The Great Humanitarian, President Herbert Hoover.²⁹⁰ Lastly, the final chapter will evaluate the moral and political decision making of the People's Republic of China to determine exactly why they participate in relief operations. This thesis then concludes with a comparison of the United States and China.

290. Glen Jeansonne, *Herbert Hoover: A Life*, (New York: Berkley, 2016), 149.

Chapter 3: China and Humanitarian Relief Decision Making

The first chapter of this thesis defined what constitutes American humanitarianism and identified that there is a historical precedent for the United States government to participate in relief operations. The United States is a country that is uniquely invested in humanitarian events, and it tends to be far more generous than other countries (Figure 2, 3, 4). The second chapter furthered this analysis with two case studies that highlighted that in addition to humanitarianism, relief operations provide soft power benefits to the United States. This chapter will explore this topic through the decision making of America's rival global power, China.

China has the stated goal of utilizing its government and economy to weaken the United States, and their international politics often challenge America's hegemony in the world.²⁹¹ Despite this stated objective, China contributes much less than other developed countries to humanitarian relief operations. In fact, in 2015, relief was "only 1.7% of [China's] overall foreign aid budget."²⁹² This paper seeks to answer the question: why does China contribute so little to disaster relief operations? This question is in part difficult to answer because the government keeps close guard on its records but also because of how limited China's relief aid is. However, one can glean from its approach to development aid that China employs a similar strategy to humanitarian relief aid. Thus, in order to answer the question at hand, this paper first examines the current foreign relations policies that exist in China. It then covers the current literature on the subject with a special focus on how China's One Belt Road Initiative lies at the heart of

291. Earl Conteh-Morgan, "The United States and China: Strategic Rivalry in Africa," *Insight Turkey* 20, no. 1 (2018): 43.

292. Miwa Hirono, *Exploring the Links Between Chinese Foreign Policy and Humanitarian Action: Multiple Interests, Processes, and Actors* (United Kingdom: Humanitarian Policy Group, 2018), 1.

its decision making on not only development aid but also disaster relief aid. The chapter concludes with several case studies to determine what factors affect China's humanitarian relief operations decision making. This paper will demonstrate that humanitarian motivations are not an active factor in China's decision making for humanitarian relief efforts and that China aid has been severely limited and contained due to realpolitik calculations.

China's Foreign Policy

China's current foreign policy has slowly been developed since the People's Republic of China (PRC) took control of the government. The current state of international relations began with the signature of "the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence" agreement with India in 1954.²⁹³ While this agreement solely involved India, the PRC often references it in foreign policy decisions, and it is apparent that the Five Principles provide a framework for current international decision making in China. The five principles it lists "are: mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; mutual non-aggression; mutual noninterference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful coexistence."²⁹⁴ Through these principals, China has justified improving their relationships with bordering countries like India, Thailand, and North Korea, and PRC leadership frequently references them while outlining their blueprint for future Chinese global dominance.²⁹⁵ A core concept laid out in the principals is peaceful growth. The PRC wants "to assure other countries, especially

293. Chietigj Bajpae, "China-India: Regional Dimensions of the Bilateral Relationship," *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 9, no. 4 (2015): 108.

294. Miwa Hirono, *Exploring the Links Between Chinese Foreign Policy and Humanitarian Action: Multiple Interests, Processes, and Actors* (United Kingdom: Humanitarian Policy Group, 2018), 5.

295. *Ibid.*, 6.

regional partners, that its rise [does] not pose a threat to world peace and security, and that [they] promote a peaceful international environment.”²⁹⁶ Finally, China has frequently used these principles to help justify their economic expansion under their current foreign development program the Belt and Road Initiative.²⁹⁷

China’s current world encompassing economic push is the Belt and Road Initiative, also called the One Belt One Road (OBOR). It was confirmed by China’s President Xi Jinping in 2013, when he simultaneously announced its “two main components: the land-based ‘Silk Road Economic Belt’ (SREB), and the Century Maritime Silk Road’ (MSR).”²⁹⁸ China’s vision for this initiative is to create a modern trade route comparable to the Silk Road that connected Asia to Europe.²⁹⁹ Their current plan takes the original trade route a step further, and involves a complex “infrastructure-building plan of roads, railways, ports and industrial hubs to connect about 65 countries.”³⁰⁰ Rather than focusing on Europe and Asia, this Silk Road is global, and has a strong focus on Africa.³⁰¹ The original Silk Road enabled international trade and boosted the Chinese economy and influence in the world. The OBOR initiative is China’s most influential economic foreign policy and is a slow strategy that will take many years to complete, but the PRC hopes that this expansive plan will provide China with the exact

296. Thokozani Simelane and R. Managa, *Belt and Road Initiative: Alternative Development Path for Africa* (Oxford: African Books Collective, 2018), 1.

297. *Ibid.*, 2.

298. *Ibid.*

299. Miwa Hirono, *Exploring the Links Between Chinese Foreign Policy and Humanitarian Action: Multiple Interests, Processes, and Actors* (United Kingdom: Humanitarian Policy Group, 2018), 7.

300. Hong Zhao, “China’s Belt and Road Initiative and ASEAN,” *China: An International Journal* 17, no. 2, (2019):127.

301. Thokozani Simelane and R. Managa, *Belt and Road Initiative: Alternative Development Path for Africa* (Oxford: African Books Collective, 2018), 3.

same benefits in the future.³⁰²

Literature Review

Current literature on China's humanitarian relief operations as defined in this thesis is limited, however, there is a substantial library on Chinese humanitarian aid and nation building not related to disasters. These are two inherently different foreign policy decisions, but aid and nation building are a core concept of the OBOR, and this paper will compare the decision making of both concepts to better frame China's relief operations. Previous literature that has explored this question in regards to Chinese humanitarian aid and nation building policy reached three overarching conclusions. The first is that China cares little about international norms, and acts in a way the benefits their own agenda. The second is that the PRC primarily provides relief in a way that improves their own economy. The last is that China utilizes humanitarian aid to increase their soft power and expand their influence around the world.

Against International Norms. China's decision making often counters the traditional thinking of other developed countries to the frustration of the United States and their western allies. China's focus is on their own growth, and their decision making process tends to go against international norms in order to achieve this goal.

Internationally, China has joined a list of other developed nations who have increased their aid to poorer countries in recent years. Countries that join China on this list include "the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Korea, Venezuela, India, Kuwait and Brazil."

³⁰³ These countries act directly against international norms and give aid with their own

302. Miwa Hirono, *Exploring the Links Between Chinese Foreign Policy and Humanitarian Action: Multiple Interests, Processes, and Actors* (United Kingdom: Humanitarian Policy Group, 2018), 7.

303. Ngaire Woods, "Whose Aid? Whose Influence? China, Emerging Donors and the Silent Revolution in Developmental Assistance," *International Affairs* 84, no 6 (2008): 1220.

individualized terms attached to it. Western aid is known to have many prerequisites for the recipient countries. When they invest in poor nations, the West requires “that [these countries] work to improve good governance,” or that they “incorporate adequate environmental and social protections within development projects.”³⁰⁴ Additionally, the gift of aid could require undeveloped countries to make human rights changes that they do not necessarily want. Now, China and these other countries ignore the western standards and make their own deals that are “more generous and more attractive” than the western counterparts.³⁰⁵ These countries do not work with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) that helps establish international aid guidelines.³⁰⁶ Rather, they avoid international regulations and offer specialized “loans, credits and debt write-offs with special trade arrangements and commercial investments” that solely benefit themselves and their own economy.³⁰⁷ The region where these deals are most evident is Africa.

In Africa, most of China’s nation building support focuses on bolstering energy and infrastructure in undeveloped countries. Their funding in these sectors increases the international partnerships of China around the world, and further expands the Chinese economy.³⁰⁸ Recipient African countries find it difficult to turn down the packages the Chinese are offering, because they promise so much and come with few requirements attached to them. As countries increasingly take Chinese deals, it makes the West weaker and less appealing to other developing countries.³⁰⁹ In particular, “China’s extensive

304. Ibid.

305. Ibid.

306. Ibid., 1205.

307. Ibid.

308. Ibid.

309. Ibid., 1221.

economic investments, intense political and cultural interactions, and ongoing peacekeeping and peace building activities in Africa have sparked insecurity for the United States.”³¹⁰ These development goals have also been echoed by China’s leader, Xi Jinping, who has “emphasized that China’s socialist model of development offers ‘a new choice for other countries’ because it would fast-track their development without sacrificing their sovereignty to any nation with interventionist inclinations.”³¹¹ This “fast track” is the offer of resources to developing countries with less requirements the Western countries. In particular, Chinese participation in Africa has humanitarian roots, as much of their business dealings with these countries involves delivering relief and infrastructure to the area. The rest of the world is not as confident though that these activities are as noble in nature as they appear.

The second way that the PRC acts against international norms is through its aid support of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK). Internationally, this relationship frustrates Western countries because the United Nations (UN) often places sanctions on the DPRK, but Korea is able to work around them because of their relationship with China. The PRC’s humanitarian aid with North Korea “appears to follow well-established patterns in decision-making and implementation,” and efforts to assist the DPRK are deliberate.³¹² China ignores international community regulations with North Korea, because aid allows them “to pursue its own political goals independently of the goals of other countries.” These goals with North Korea

310. Earl Conteh-Morgan, “The United States and China: Strategic Rivalry in Africa,” *Insight Turkey* 20, no. 1 (2018): 39.

311. *Ibid.*, 51.

312. James Reilly, “The Curious Case of China’s Aid to North Korea,” *Asian Survey* 54, no. 6 (2014): 1164.

simultaneously make Western countries weaker because their sanctions hold less influence.³¹³ China's decision to assist North Korea also draws inspiration from the next trend in Chinese aid literature, mutual economic benefits.

Economic Goals. The second trend that current literature identifies as a reason for China's involvement in humanitarian aid is Chinese economic growth. A core question discussed throughout the literature is: are China's actions purely economic in intention, and is aid used as "simply a means to enhance material power and influence in crisis affected regions, in competition with Western states and other emerging powers?"³¹⁴ In general China has three goals in mind when they make a foreign relations policy. The first is to "expand China's access to markets, investment, and technology."³¹⁵ This new access simultaneously enables their second goal, to "gain access to strategic resources."³¹⁶ Finally, in order to achieve the first two objectives, China works to reassure international players "that China's growth will not undermine their [own] economic interests."³¹⁷ The PRC's aid projects exist to secure "mutual economic benefits" between China and any country that they provide resources to.³¹⁸ This is a theme that exists in all of their partnerships around the world, as "projects are mostly implemented by Chinese enterprises and are often closely linked to Chinese economic interests." Of note, Africa is a significant investment for China, and there has been a substantial increase in trade in the last two decades. In fact, "trade between China and

313. Ibid., 1161.

314. Miwa Hirono, *Exploring the Links Between Chinese Foreign Policy and Humanitarian Action: Multiple Interests, Processes, and Actors* (United Kingdom: Humanitarian Policy Group, 2018), 1.

315. Evan Medeiros, "China's Expanding Diplomatic Toolkit," in *China's International Behavior: Activism, Opportunism, and Diversification* (RAND Corporation, 2009), 62-64.

316. Ibid.

317. Ibid.

318. James Reilly, "The Curious Case of China's Aid to North Korea," *Asian Survey* 54, no. 6 (2014): 1183.

Africa tripled from \$10 billion in 2000 to \$30 billion in 2004.”³¹⁹ All of the increased loans have economic ties for China, and their funding is provided by “state-owned enterprises,” and any contracts are awarded “to private Chinese companies.”³²⁰ China’s economic growth in Africa and been so substantial that by 2004 “674 Chinese companies had established themselves in 49” African states.³²¹

An additional reason for PRC participation in humanitarian aid is to gain access to new trade avenues and natural resources. Many of their infrastructure projects increase China’s “access to raw materials” and place Chinese influence in “countries of economic and strategic significance.”³²² This race is not purely a Chinese phenomenon, as other global powers like the United States, India, and Brazil continuously try “to source raw materials in Africa in exchange for new technologies and manufactured goods,” but China does so at an alarming rate.³²³ Their policy is to use “trade, investment, and, increasingly, finance policies to support China’s diplomatic goals...by ensuring access to foreign markets.”³²⁴ International partners tend to believe that China’s existence in Africa stems from its desire to have access to the natural resources there, and evidence supports this claim. The PRC has increased investments in “resource-rich countries such as Angola, the Republic of Congo, Nigeria, Algeria, and Zimbabwe.”³²⁵ Chinese access to

319. Lindsey Hilsum, “Re-Enter the Dragon: China’s New Mission in Africa,” *Review of African Political Economy* 32, no. 104/105 (2005): 420.

320. Ibid.

321. Ibid.

322. Czeslaw Tubilewicz, “The Politics of Compassion: Examining A Divided China’s Humanitarian Assistance to Haiti,” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 12, no. 3 (2012): 456.

323. Adaora Osondu-Oti, “China and Africa: Human Rights Perspective,” *Africa Development* 41, no. 1 (2016): 50.

324. Evan Medeiros, “China’s Expanding Diplomatic Toolkit,” in *China’s International Behavior: Activism, Opportunism, and Diversification* (RAND Corporation, 2009), 61.

325. Earl Conteh-Morgan, “The United States and China: Strategic Rivalry in Africa,” *Insight Turkey* 20, no. 1 (2018): 40-41.

these countries is solidified because the equipment and resources they provide to help mine natural resources is retained by state owned companies.

These companies provide critical infrastructure to the region, and expand China's ability to transport oil and other strategic minerals quickly anywhere in the world.³²⁶ Within this policy foreign aid plays a major role. Aid is split into two parts, "development and humanitarian assistance."³²⁷ Development includes "grants, loans, and technical assistance" to countries that desperately need it.³²⁸ Officially in public record, the amount of development aid China provides is lower than other developed countries, but when state sponsored businesses and banks are included in the figures, China "becomes a major source of foreign aid."³²⁹ Most of the aid provided by the PRC is development aid, emergency aid in the form of humanitarian assistance is a far smaller number and is further explored in this paper.

As mentioned above, China is one of the greatest investors to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), a country that consistently faces international sanctions for a myriad of reasons including human rights violations. It is evident that China provides support to them, but "data on Chinese aid to the DPRK are scarce."³³⁰ What scholars have determined is that in 2008, "China's aid to North Korea [was] "approximately 40 percent of its overall ODA[Official Development Assistance]."³³¹ This number has steadily grown over the last years.³³² More specifically, "the PRC's food

326. Ibid., 41.

327. Evan Medeiros, "China's Expanding Diplomatic Toolkit," in *China's International Behavior: Activism, Opportunism, and Diversification* (RAND Corporation, 2009), 66.

328. Ibid.

329. Ibid., 66-67.

330. James Reilly, "The Curious Case of China's Aid to North Korea," *Asian Survey* 54, no. 6 (2014): 1158.

331. Ibid., 1160.

332. Ibid.

aid to North Korea...was found to have been motivated by geostrategic and security objectives.”³³³ The aid they provide also generally contains the same products that they give other developing countries, like food, farming supplies, and fertilizer.³³⁴ Additionally, construction is one of the primary avenues that they support the DPRK, a resource that simultaneously provides jobs to the Chinese economy.³³⁵

Soft Power. As the PRC looks to increase Chinese influence in the world, its leadership understands that it cannot solely rely on hard power programs to influence other countries. “Soft power is defined as the ‘ability to obtain desired outcomes through attraction rather than coercion or payment.’”³³⁶ China understands that additional influence can come through the reputation they have around the world, and while soft power is a relatively new concept to China, it is now an integral part of their strategy.³³⁷ The PRC is aware that “the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and Japan currently enjoy a commanding lead over China in soft power terms.”³³⁸ In response to this deficit, President Xi has announced that soft power is necessary in order to “realize the ‘Chinese Dream,’ the revitalization of Chinese society and achievement of national glory.”³³⁹ Furthermore, soft power is crucial to their efforts of “peaceful development,” a concept derived from the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence.³⁴⁰ Peaceful

333. Czeslaw Tubilewicz, “The Politics of Compassion: Examining A Divided China’s Humanitarian Assistance to Haiti,” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 12, no. 3 (2012): 456.

334. James Reilly, “The Curious Case of China’s Aid to North Korea,” *Asian Survey* 54, no. 6 (2014): 1170.

335. Ibid., 1169.

336. Mikail Kalimuddin and David Anderson, “Soft Power in China’s Security Strategy,” *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 12, no. 3 (2018): 116.

337. Ibid., 114.

338. Ibid., 115.

339. Ibid., 114.

340. Thokozani Simelane and R. Managa, *Belt and Road Initiative: Alternative Development Path for Africa* (Oxford: African Books Collective, 2018), 1.

development “is not a new notion in China’s soft power diplomacy, but it became official policy in China” in the early 2000s.³⁴¹

Their soft power objectives reach further than humanitarian relief operations and extend into the massive economic investment they have made in Africa.³⁴² One thing is clear, China now utilizes foreign aid to assist in their goal of strengthening political relationships with neighboring countries and strategic African partners.³⁴³ The PRC is clearly still behind in soft power, but their rapidly growing economy has provided them a rare opportunity. In order to capitalize on it, China needs to figure out how to “sustain its rapid economic growth” while hoping the United States’ economy slows down.³⁴⁴

In sum, scholarship in this area identifies three aspects of China’s decision making process for providing humanitarian aid to developing countries in reference to the One Road One Belt initiative: China goes against international norms, they secure aid that provides mutual economic benefits, and the PRC has a desire for aid to expand their soft power. Developmental aid is inherently different than relief, but this paper proposes that there are similarities in China’s decision to provide humanitarian relief. The ultimate goal of this chapter is to answer the question: why does China participate in less humanitarian relief operations than other developed countries? The hypothesis is that China’s decision to provide relief is closely linked to their humanitarian aid priorities. In order to answer this question multiple case studies of Chinese participation in relief operations are examined. Like the previous chapter, humanitarian relief is defined as the

341. Ibid.

342. Earl Conteh-Morgan, “The United States and China: Strategic Rivalry in Africa,” *Insight Turkey* 20, no. 1 (2018): 40.

343. Evan Medeiros, “China’s Expanding Diplomatic Toolkit,” in *China’s International Behavior: Activism, Opportunism, and Diversification* (RAND Corporation, 2009), 68.

344. Wei Liang, “China’s Soft Power in Africa: Is Economic Power Sufficient?,” *Asian Perspective* 36, no. 4 (2012): 667-692.

monetary funds, people, and equipment provided by the Chinese government to a non-Chinese country or territory that has been struck by a natural disaster.

Case Studies: Instances of Humanitarian Relief Operations

As previously stated, data on China's humanitarian relief operations are limited as the People's Republic of China strictly controls the public release of government information. Despite this limitation, there is some public data on specific instances of Chinese relief participation. The Chinese government, "defines 'humanitarian aid' quite narrowly as cash assistance and the dispatch of medical and rescue teams, and other forms of assistance can feature as 'goods and materials' or 'complete projects.'"³⁴⁵ The resources they do contribute consists primarily of "food, shelter and non-food items, health and coordination and support services."³⁴⁶ In general, the majority of China's relief supports only one or two disasters a year, and most global humanitarian events receive limited public acknowledgement from the PRC.³⁴⁷ China consistently donates less resources than other countries, and historically has ranked between 19th and 26th on the international donations list.³⁴⁸ Their lack of humanitarian relief contrasts their rapid rise as an economic power. From 2003 until 2015, China's GDP increased by nearly 10 percent a year.³⁴⁹ At the same time, "China's net development aid...increased by on average 24 percent every year" from 2004 to 2011."³⁵⁰ This aid though, has been restricted from relief operations, and is directed at Chinese nation building objectives. Publically, "Chinese officials have stated that the government has established an

345. Miwa Hirono, *Exploring the Links Between Chinese Foreign Policy and Humanitarian Action: Multiple Interests, Processes, and Actors* (United Kingdom: Humanitarian Policy Group, 2018), 17.

346. Ibid.

347. Ibid., 16.

348. Ibid., 16-17.

349. Ibid., 16.

350. Ibid.

‘emergency response mechanism’ to enable quick dispersal of disaster relief aid in the future.”³⁵¹ Although smaller in scope than other courtiers, this emergency mechanism has been used in multiple instances.

Indian Ocean Tsunami. The first example of Chinese participation in relief operations is the Indian Ocean Tsunami that occurred after a magnitude 9.1 Earthquake struck off the coast of India on December 24, 2004.³⁵² Ultimately the resulting damages “kill[ed] over 230,000 people and displac[ed] 1.7 million across 14 countries.”³⁵³ The international community instantly expressed regret and donations poured in from around the world. Despite this global movement, China pledge very little towards relief efforts (Figure 2).³⁵⁴ Initially, the PRC only promised \$3 million, which was less than \$2 per displaced person.³⁵⁵ The international backlash was instantaneous, but China did not respond to the pressure until their political rival, Taiwan, pledge \$50 US million.³⁵⁶ Taiwan has a significantly smaller economy than China, but still offered more relief than them.³⁵⁷ The contentious relationship between China and Taiwan is well documented, and China could not allow Taiwan to donate more than them, so they increased their pledge to \$60 million. At the end of the operation China reported that it had offered a total of \$83 million to the disaster, but it is unconfirmed if all of this aid was actually

351. Evan Medeiros, “China’s Expanding Diplomatic Toolkit,” in *China’s International Behavior: Activism, Opportunism, and Diversification*. (RAND Corporation, 2009), 70.

352. “Magnitude 9.1 – Off Coast of Northern Sumatra,” *United States Geological Survey*, accessed July 22, 2018, <https://web.archive.org/web/20120817004055/http://earthquake.usgs.gov/earthquakes/eqinthenews/2004/us2004slav/>.

353. Eddie Bernard, “Tsunamis: Are We Underestimating the Risk?,” *Oceanography* 25, no. 2 (2012): 208.

354. Amitai Etzioni, “Is China A Responsible Stakeholder?,” *International Affairs* 87, no. 3 (2011): 543.

355. Ibid.

356. Ibid.

357. Ibid.

distributed.³⁵⁸ Additionally, the PRC deployed medical teams to the area to assist in the relief operations. At the time, this was the largest relief operation in the history of the PRC.³⁵⁹

Haiti Earthquake. A second example of Chinese humanitarian relief occurred after Haiti experienced a magnitude 7.0 earthquake on January 12, 2010.³⁶⁰ In common theme, international support was rapid, and resources poured in to support the now 1.5 million displaced people.³⁶¹ Combined, “more than 50 countries kicked in \$5.3 billion in all,” but China, “ponied up a miserly \$1.5 million, comparable to the donations made by Gambia and Monaco (Figure 3).”³⁶² Despite the low number, China worked in this instance to ensure that the funds and support they did provide were instantaneous.³⁶³ The government ensured they were public with their support and state media quickly declared noble intentions behind the donations.³⁶⁴ However, critics identified that “they strategized their emergency assistance to achieve broader political objectives.”³⁶⁵ Again, as the relief operation continued, the PRC eventually raised their donations to a total of \$5.91 million, but the most significant aspect of this relief operation was that China ensured that its supplies were the first to arrive at the scene. They “sent a cargo plane with 90 tons of humanitarian aid” to Haiti and it arrived “before United States Navy vessels reached the

358. Evan Medeiros, “China’s Expanding Diplomatic Toolkit,” in *China’s International Behavior: Activism, Opportunism, and Diversification* (RAND Corporation, 2009), 69.

359. Amitai Etzioni, “Is China A Responsible Stakeholder?,” *International Affairs* 87, no. 3 (2011): 543.

360. “Haiti Earthquake Fast Facts,” *CNN*, last modified December 27, 2018.

<https://edition.cnn.com/2013/12/12/world/haiti-earthquake-fast-facts/index.html>.

361. *Ibid.*

362. Amitai Etzioni, “Is China A Responsible Stakeholder?,” *International Affairs* 87, no. 3 (2011): 543.

363. Czeslaw Tubilewicz, “The Politics of Compassion: Examining A Divided China’s Humanitarian Assistance to Haiti,” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 12, no. 3 (2012): 451.

364. *Ibid.*

365. *Ibid.*

country.”³⁶⁶ In addition to a cargo plane, the PRC expeditiously sent a rescue team to help retrieve victims.

Immediately after the earthquake struck, the Chinese government promptly announced that they were “preparing to send a 50-member rescue team, including three sniffer dogs,” to the disaster zone.³⁶⁷ This was despite the fact that China had limited diplomatic relations with Haiti.³⁶⁸ China made this decision public and ensured that it was announced abroad and at home to its people. Their rescue team was initially a success, and the United Nations praised them as ““remarkable efficiency,”” while “Haitian leaders publicly thanked” them for their support.³⁶⁹ This praise however came to an abrupt halt when the rescue team left Port au Prince “as soon as the bodies of the missing Chinese were identified.”³⁷⁰ Initially this event provided China with international praise, but concluded with the international community questioning “China’s credentials as a ‘good global citizen’”³⁷¹

Japanese Tsunami. The next internationally significant relief operation that drew Chinese support was the Japanese Tsunami in 2011. When a 9.1 magnitude earthquake³⁷² displaced over 470,000 people³⁷³ and destroyed 129,500 homes, China

366. Ibid., 465.

367. “Aid Begins Flowing to Haiti,” *CNN*, last modified January 14, 2010.

<http://edition.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/americas/01/13/haiti.aid.response/index.html>.

368. Ibid.

369. Czeslaw Tubilewicz, “The Politics of Compassion: Examining A Divided China’s Humanitarian Assistance to Haiti,” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 12, no. 3 (2012): 465.

370. Ibid.

371. Ibid.

372. “M 9.1 – Near the East Coast of Honshu, Japan,” *United States Geological Survey*, accessed July 22, 2018, https://earthquake.usgs.gov/earthquakes/eventpage/official20110311054624120_30#executive.

373. “Police Countermeasures and Damage Situations Associated with 2011 Tohoku District – Off the Pacific Ocean Earthquake,” *National Police Agency of Japan*, June 8, 2018, https://www.npa.go.jp/news/other/earthquake2011/pdf/higaijokyo_e.pdf.

faced a unique situation.³⁷⁴ China and Japan's contentious relationship is well known, and at first glance it would be surprising for China to support Japan. However, "when China's Sichuan province was devastated by a 7.9-magnitude earthquake in 2008, leaving an estimated 87,000 dead or missing, the response from...Japan, was instantaneous." Japan provided a search and rescue team to the region, and made international headlines because they were "the first foreign aid group to arrive" to the disaster stricken area.³⁷⁵ Now, just three years later, China was faced with a similar decision, and opted to assist Japan.

Some Chinese citizens publicly praised the disaster facing Japan, and went so far as to state that the Japanese deserved the suffering.³⁷⁶ Concurrently though, memories of Japan's prior assistance led to "new respect...for Japanese virtues."³⁷⁷ Immediately after the earthquake, "Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao offered his 'deep sympathy and solicitude' as well as assistance," and the PRC sent a small 15 member rescue team, which was "the first disaster team from China ever sent to Japan."³⁷⁸ Additionally, the growing public support for Japan led to a drastic increase in public donations. In the end, China donated a total of "\$4.5 million in humanitarian assistance as the first plane-load of blankets, tents and emergency lights flew out of Shanghai."³⁷⁹ The message from the PRC on state run media was that China was united with the world to assist their neighbor through this

374. Jennifer Moroney, Stephanie Pezard, Laurel Miller, Jeffrey Engstrom, and Abby Doll, "The Great East Japan Earthquake/Operation Tomodachi," in *Lessons for the Department of Defense Disaster Relief Efforts in the Asia-Pacific Region*, (RAND Corporation, 2013), 85.

375. Justin Bergman, "Setting Rivalry Aside: China Responds to Japan's Plight," *Time*, last modified March 14, 2011. <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2058697,00.html>.

376. Louisa Lim, "China Acts Fast in Aiding Japan Post-Earthquake," *NPR*, last modified March 15, 2011. <https://www.npr.org/2011/03/15/134567659/china-acts-fast-in-aiding-japan-post-earthquake>.

377. Ibid.

378. Justin Bergman, "Setting Rivalry Aside: China Responds to Japan's Plight," *Time*, last modified March 14, 2011. <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2058697,00.html>.

379. Ibid.

tragedy. The news outlets went so far as to announce that the “willingness and readiness to help each other is just a natural reflection of the time-honored friendly bond between the two neighboring Oriental civilizations,” and that “the virtue of returning the favor after receiving one runs in the bloods of both nations.”³⁸⁰ This humanitarian relief held social significance, but on the international level, China was still far behind other developed countries in quantity of funds donated (Figure 4). In the immediate aftermath of the disaster a total of “seventeen countries rushed search and rescue teams to Japan.”³⁸¹ There were a total of “796 individuals on the ground,” of which, only 15, were Chinese,” and those rescuers only worked for 16 days.³⁸² In addition to this contingent, China offered medical aid from their Navy, but Tokyo turned down the offer.³⁸³

North Korea. As an individual example, one of the countries that China provides consistent humanitarian relief to is North Korea. Historically, international relations with the DPRK is contentious, and other countries are hesitant to provide relief to the region because of their leader Kim Jong Un. However, “in theory, humanitarian aid is unrelated to sanctions and an exception under U.N. Security Council resolutions for humanitarian assistance.”³⁸⁴ China frequently provides relief despite this international pressure. As an example, in 2016, over 100,000 people were displaced as North Korea experienced flooding during “its worst disaster since World War II.”³⁸⁵ A typhoon ravaged the region

380. Ibid.,

381. Jennifer Moroney, Stephanie Pezard, Laurel Miller, Jeffrey Engstrom, and Abby Doll, “The Great East Japan Earthquake/Operation Tomodachi,” in *Lessons for the Department of Defense Disaster Relief Efforts in the Asia-Pacific Region*, (RAND Corporation, 2013), 102.

382. Ibid.

383. Ibid., 102-103.

384. Jessica Meyers and Barbara Demick, “North Korea’s Deadly Floods Undermine the Nation’s Projection of Power,” *Los Angeles Times*, last modified September 15, 2016.

<https://www.latimes.com/world/asia/la-fg-north-korea-flooding-20160915-snap-story.html>.

385. Ibid.

and “ripped through villages along the Tumen River, near the border with China.”³⁸⁶ Against the rest of the world, China quickly “announced a \$3 million relief package” to assist with the flooding.³⁸⁷ Included in this package was cash “for humanitarian aid and reconstruction projects.”³⁸⁸ Additionally, China has utilized its own Red Cross organization to provide emergency supplies after other disasters struck the North Korea. Examples of this include a 2004 donation of \$1.2 million “worth of emergency relief supplies following a massive railway explosion near the Chinese border that killed 161 people and injured at least 1,300.” China use disasters such as this to couple their relief with the Chinese Red Cross in order to provide a “broader package including additional aid materials and relief teams.”³⁸⁹ Humanitarian relief with the DPRK is just a portion of the nonstandard relief that China provides around the world.

China also provides humanitarian relief to other neighboring countries. Aside from North Korea, “China was the sixth largest donor to the earthquake response in Nepal in 2015; the largest donor in Cambodia in 2011; and the third largest donor in North Korea in 2011.”³⁹⁰ Of note, even with their rivalry, China has offered \$100,000 in relief to Taiwan in 2012 after the country experienced flooding.³⁹¹ Most of the disasters that receive global funding and attention do not receive much acknowledgement from China. “For example, China allocated 62 percent of its entire humanitarian spend in 2015

386. Ibid.

387. Kyodo, “China Offers US\$3 Million in Humanitarian Aid to Flood-hit North Korea,” *South China Morning Post*, last modified November 2, 2016. <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2042311/china-offers-us3-million-humanitarian-aid-flood-hit>.

388. Ibid.,

389. James Reilly, “The Curious Case of China’s Aid to North Korea,” *Asian Survey* 54, no. 6 (2014): 1167.

390. Miwa Hirono, *Exploring the Links Between Chinese Foreign Policy and Humanitarian Action: Multiple Interests, Processes, and Actors* (United Kingdom: Humanitarian Policy Group, 2018), 19-20.

391. Mikail Kalimuddin and David Anderson, “Soft Power in China’s Security Strategy,” *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 12, no. 3 (2018): 132.

on Nepal, whereas the largest allocations of global funding that year went on the Syria crisis (Nepal came third).”³⁹² In 2011, China provided significant relief to several East African countries during a severe drought. In total the PRC “allocated 79% of its humanitarian aid to...Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and Djibouti,” while the rest of the world divided their focus onto many different disasters.³⁹³ During that year, the international community “focused on Somalia, Sudan, Japan (the tsunami), Kenya, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Afghanistan (in that order).”³⁹⁴ While there was some overlap, China acted on its own and prioritized the disasters with their own criteria.

China’s government officials and state media regularly advertise their humanitarian relief operations and announce how their intentions are “motivated by a desire to prevent or relieve human suffering.”³⁹⁵ Furthermore, they praise their own actions as “selfless,” and argue that their relief efforts are “derived from ‘traditional Chinese virtues’ of generosity and friendliness.”³⁹⁶ The PRC frames their assistance as beneficial to the international community and “‘the creation of harmonious world’”³⁹⁷ Any decision to participate in disaster relief must be approved by Chinese leadership, who work to maximize the positive message the relief provides. As an example, when China provides relief to North Korea, it is publicly announced during “leaders’ visits, major anniversaries, DPRK leadership transitions, or humanitarian disasters,” to provide

392. Miwa Hirono, *Exploring the Links Between Chinese Foreign Policy and Humanitarian Action: Multiple Interests, Processes, and Actors* (United Kingdom: Humanitarian Policy Group, 2018), 18.

393. *Ibid.*, 19.

394. *Ibid.*

395. Czeslaw Tubilewicz, “The Politics of Compassion: Examining A Divided China’s Humanitarian Assistance to Haiti,” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 12, no. 3 (2012): 456.

396. *Ibid.*,

397. *Ibid.*

the maximum political impact.³⁹⁸

Analysis

The limited data on China's humanitarian relief operations still demonstrate trends in China's decision making process, and can help answer the question: why does China participate in less humanitarian relief operations than other developed countries? The hypothesis is that China decision to provide relief is closely linked to their humanitarian aid priorities. This analysis references the trends identified in the literature review and compares them to the case studies to answer this question.

Against International Norms. China's foreign policy decision making consistently goes against international norms, and their humanitarian relief operations follow the same trend. China donates fewer resources than most developed countries, and fails to succumb to international pressure like other countries do. While China increased their overall donations to both the Indian Ocean Tsunami, Haiti, and the Japanese Tsunami, it was still far below that of other developed countries. China's initial pledge to Haiti was a measly \$1.5 million.³⁹⁹ Eventually they raised it to \$5.91⁴⁰⁰ million, only .11% of the \$5.3 billion⁴⁰¹ that was donated by the combined international community. The interesting aspect of China's Haiti relief was that it was initially a great success for China after their rescue team received praise from the international community. Despite this positive note, China only increased their pledge by \$4.41 million before the disaster was contained.

398. James Reilly, "The Curious Case of China's Aid to North Korea," *Asian Survey* 54, no. 6 (2014): 1165.

399. Czeslaw Tubilewicz, "The Politics of Compassion: Examining A Divided China's Humanitarian Assistance to Haiti," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 12, no. 3 (2012): 465.

400. Ibid., 451.

401. Ibid., 465.

The next example of China deviating from international norms is seen in how they prioritize their relief operations. China's relief budget is small, and they only commit to a few disasters every year. In 2011, China gave 79 percent of their relief funds, a significant portion, to African countries suffering from a drought.⁴⁰² This was despite the Japanese Tsunami that dominated the news around the world that year. Included on this list was Djibouti which is a central node in the trade route from the Red Sea, and an important ally to America.⁴⁰³ This scenario demonstrates that China provides relief only to countries that it thinks are important to maintain relationships with and minimizes the resources sent to other disaster areas.

Economic Goals. Most of the relief that China provided in the case studies consisted of medical teams and food supplies. These donations largely counter their usual goal of mutually beneficial aid. The only example found that aligned with this priority was with their construction teams that they provided to North Korea. These teams repaired existing infrastructure, and provided jobs to Chinese workers. Of course, the flooding that China responded to was on the border of the two countries, so this construction could have also been for many Chinese that may have been affected by the disaster. Additionally, North Korea is still a trading partner for China, and these damages made it more difficult to continue cross border trading.

China's aid often focuses on countries that are important to their own international plans. Their foreign policy draws influence from The Five Principles of

402. Miwa Hirono, *Exploring the Links Between Chinese Foreign Policy and Humanitarian Action: Multiple Interests, Processes, and Actors* (United Kingdom: Humanitarian Policy Group, 2018), 19.

403. Arwa Damon and Brent Swails, "China and The United States Face Off in Djibouti as the World Powers Fight for Influence in Africa," *CNN*, last modified May 27, 2019. <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/05/26/africa/china-belt-road-initiative-djibouti-intl/index.html>.

Peaceful Co-Existence agreement, which contains the fundamentals of their decision making for relief operations. In particular, this document can be used to justify relief operations for neighboring countries.⁴⁰⁴ Their “humanitarian assistance is related to Peripheral Diplomacy: a way of demonstrating to its neighbors that China is their indispensable partner.”⁴⁰⁵ In these examples, China contributed to North Korea, Nepal, and Cambodia more than most other international countries. The PRC did this because they want “to assure other countries, especially regional partners, that its rise [does] not pose a threat to world peace and security, and that [they] promote a peaceful international environment, and friendly relations with other nations.”⁴⁰⁶ China wants their neighbors to trust them and work with them to improve their trade through the OBOR initiative. Neighboring countries are crucial to recreating the Silk Road and placing China at the center of a global trade network.

Soft Power. In two of the case studies above, China expedited their relief and received praise from around the world. Their quick response and the public reaction provided a boost in soft power and offset the lower pledge given by the PRC. The best example of soft power from China came from the 15-member team that they sent to Haiti. This timely decision was lauded by the United Nations, and set China up for success. Despite this, China erased that good soft power gain when they quickly removed their team after all Chinese citizens in the earthquake had been identified. Part of this may have been due to the weak political relationship between Haiti and China, but regardless

404. Miwa Hirono, *Exploring the Links Between Chinese Foreign Policy and Humanitarian Action: Multiple Interests, Processes, and Actors* (United Kingdom: Humanitarian Policy Group, 2018), 6.

405. Ibid., 19-20.

406. Thokozani Simelane and R. Managa, *Belt and Road Initiative: Alternative Development Path for Africa* (Oxford: African Books Collective, 2018), 1.

of the official reason for their withdrawal, this decision demonstrates China's true intentions. While China is pursuing gains in soft power, they are setting their own priorities for where they project it, and in this instance they did not see a lot of potential in more humanitarian relief.

This decision also highlighted one of the interesting trends in Chinese relief operations. In two of the case studies, Japan and Haiti, China made international headlines as the first country to respond. At the same time, China was one of the first countries to leave. This strategy gives them positive headlines and a small boost in soft power at the initial onset of the disaster. They are able to tell their allies and the Chinese citizens that they are indispensable members of the international community, and frame their relief efforts in a way that demonstrates positive attributes of the PRC. After this initial praise ends, they quickly meet their minimal goals (like finding all Chinese citizens) and quickly and quietly leave the disaster zone.

Additionally, China's decision to help Japan also demonstrated an increase in soft power. Japan is a close neighbor to China, but their relationship has a strong history of distrust. China's decision to assist Japan largely came from the debt they owed Japan for previous help. Furthermore, the resources China provided to Japan compared to those that Japan previously gave to China. This restricted amount of resources and small search and rescue team are in line with the rest of the PRC's relief operations, but China framed this assistance as a duty to their close Asian neighbors. Their decision to help was praised around the world because of their existing negative relationship with Japan. China even offered additional aid in the form of the Chinese Navy, but Japan denied that offer because of their contentious relationship.

The last way that China exercised soft power in the case studies was through their Indian Ocean Tsunami pledge. While their initial donation was low, China made a statement when they contributed more relief than Taiwan. Their pledge, \$60 million, was still far below other countries, but China cares about outperforming Taiwan. In fact, scholars argue that China's aid after the Indian Ocean Tsunami in 2004 was increased to beat Taiwan's pledge, and through this act, China improved its soft power in the region.⁴⁰⁷

Conclusion

The One Belt One Road initiative requires international support in order to be completed, and the 65 countries included in the plan play a critical role in Chinese foreign policy. China wants these countries to support them and their economic growth. In order to accomplish this, they need to at least appear that they will help these countries when they are in need. When China provides small donations and medical teams, they are meeting a basic expectation to show up and help those in a crisis. The PRC does not believe that humanitarian relief is a critical aspect to their OBOR plan. Rather, they believe that because they invest so much already in aid and nation building, they are already improving their soft power. The political reasons to participate in humanitarian relief include increased soft power and improved relationships. China gets this already with their reach from the OBOR initiative. They provide infrastructure to countries that do not have it, and despite some of these agreements ending poorly, they still expand their influence around the world with these deals. Additionally, humanitarian relief does not meet one of China's most highlighted priorities because it is not economically

407. Czeslaw Tubilewicz, "The Politics of Compassion: Examining A Divided China's Humanitarian Assistance to Haiti," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 12, no. 3 (2012): 456.

beneficial like China's aid projects are. The examples provided in the literature review demonstrate that their development projects increase trade routes and give China access to natural resources. Food and medical supply donations do not directly impact the economy in the way that China prefers. Thus, China's humanitarian relief efforts are significantly smaller than other developed countries like the United States, but the bottom line seems to be that China will continue their current strategy regardless of international backlash.

Conclusion

This thesis aimed to improve upon existing humanitarian relief studies in order to better understand the reasons a country participates in relief operations. Its primary goal was to improve upon the current understanding of this unique form of policy because if nations can better understand what factors contribute to successful international support, then they can more efficiently respond when a disaster strikes and save more lives. Millions of people have been affected by natural disasters over the last four decades, and the international community historically has rallied around them to provide support.⁴⁰⁸ Compared to the rest of the world, the United States is incredibly generous with humanitarian relief.⁴⁰⁹ They donate a substantial amount of funds to world disasters, and humanitarianism has become ingrained in their national policy. The topic of American humanitarianism and relief operations is underdeveloped, and this paper intended to improve upon it through multiple case studies. The first chapter explored the background of American humanitarianism to find the cultural precedence behind it. The next two chapters looked at policy decision making in regards to the United States and China, two countries whose approaches towards relief are completely different. Ultimately, this paper supports the current humanitarian relief operations research and further highlights the complex factors that contribute to any country's decision to assist another nation in need.

Chapter one identified that the basics of humanitarianism are not new, especially in the United States. When a country adapts this belief into its political strategy, the

408. David Stromberg, "Natural Disasters, Economic Development, and Humanitarian Aid," *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 21, no. 3 (2007): 199.

409. Vijaya Ramachandran and Julie Walz, "Haiti: Where Has All the Money Gone?," *Journal of Haitian Studies* 21, no. 1 (2015): 27.

expectation is that they will assist people in need both at home and abroad.⁴¹⁰ Throughout the years the United States has developed its own generous standard for humanitarianism that began with the Founding Fathers' intent behind the Declaration of Independence. The basic human rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" exist for all, and it is the duty of the United States to protect and expand these rights.⁴¹¹ This concept has been reinforced through the actions of former politicians throughout the years, such as President Lincoln, Albert Beveridge, President Wilson, and President Hoover. This chapter further focused on the life of Herbert Hoover, a man who is primarily associated with the Great Depression, despite being world renown as a humanitarian. This chapter demonstrated that Hoover's legacy, while mixed, is properly placed in its lasting influence on humanitarian aid. Hoover's actions protected millions of people and he truly epitomized the ideal American humanitarian. His humanitarian efforts shaped the American concept of giving, and his life demonstrated that a single individual can have a lasting impact on a nation. Three themes from Hoover's relief operations continue to this day. The first is that United States relief contributions largely come from individual citizens. Additionally, American religious organizations have a significant influence on the distribution of aid. Lastly, the United States strives to provide lasting relief to a disaster stricken country, and enables displaced people to take care of themselves.

Chapter two demonstrated that the United States' decision to provide humanitarian aid to a country or region in need is based on many political factors. The literature review reached two reasons countries participate in humanitarian relief

410. Didier Fassin, "The Predicament of Humanitarianism," *Qui Parle: Critical Humanities and Social Sciences* 22, no. 1 (2013): 38.

411. "Declaration of Independence," *U.S. History.org*, July 4th, 1776, <http://www.ushistory.org/declaration/document/>.

operations: moral obligation and soft power benefits. It also identified two reasons for why they do not provide aid: the legality of participation and the difficulties with implementing relief. The United States' government provided substantial relief in both the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami and the 2011 Japanese Tsunami. The overall objective of this chapter was to discover if the United States is more likely to assist a country when it has a stronger relationship with them. In these case studies, America had a stronger relationship with Japan than with Indonesia, India, or Sri Lanka. Overall, both events support the existing literature on humanitarian relief operations, but they only loosely support the claim that a strong existing relationship impacts the amount of aid America provides. The most significant supporting factor is that the United States only increased their pledged aid for the Indian Ocean Tsunami after intense international backlash.⁴¹² This decision made it appear that the United States did not care about those affected, and negatively impacted their soft power in the region. After this backlash, America provided substantial funds to the area which, coincidentally, also served a strategic role in the War on Terror.⁴¹³ Furthermore, the United States responded much quicker in Japan and support arrived within 24 hours of the event. This may be due to the strong relationship between Japan and the United States, but the military presence stationed in country may also have played a significant role.

Chapter three switched the focus from the United States to its geopolitical rival, China. The People's Republic of China (PRC) has aggressively pushed its new expansion

412. N. Official Slams U.S. as 'Stingy' Over Aid," *The Washington Times*, last updated December 28, 2004, "Giant Waves Damage S Asia Economy," *BBC News*, last updated December 28, 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4127433.stm>.

413. Jeffrey Lunstead, "The United States' Role in Sri Lanka's Peace Process 2002-2006," *The Asian Foundation*, (2007): 14.

program, the One Belt One Road initiative (OBOR). This ambitious economic development plan is designed to connect 65 countries into a recreation of the ancient Silk Road.⁴¹⁴ To link these countries, China has invested heavily in aid and nation-building projects. Previous literature identified three trends in this policy: China cares little about international norms, the PRC primarily delivers relief in a way that improves their own economy, and they utilize humanitarian aid to increase their soft power. Compared to the rest of the international community, China donates far less to relief operations.⁴¹⁵ This chapter searched to discover why China does this, and reached three overarching conclusions. The first is that the PRC will donate the minimum to maintain their relationship with countries that serve a role in their OBOR initiative. When China provides small donations and medical teams, they are meeting a basic expectation to show up and help those in a crisis. Furthermore, the PRC does not believe that humanitarian relief is a critical aspect to their OBOR plan. One of the most significant political reasons to participate in humanitarian relief is to increase soft power in the affected region. China, does not find value in relief operations, and thinks that, because they invest so much already in aid and nation building, they already receive a boost in soft power. Lastly, humanitarian relief does not meet one of China's OBOR goals because it is not economically beneficial like China's aid projects are. The donation of food and medical supplies only takes from the Chinese economy, and does not provide the mutually beneficial economic growth that the PRC prefers with its aid projects.

The conclusions reached in this thesis have interesting policy implications for the

414. Hong Zhao, "China's Belt and Road Initiative and ASEAN," *China: An International Journal* 17, no. 2, (2019):127.

415. Miwa Hirono, *Exploring the Links Between Chinese Foreign Policy and Humanitarian Action: Multiple Interests, Processes, and Actors* (United Kingdom: Humanitarian Policy Group, 2018), 1.

United States and China. The first is that American humanitarianism is ingrained in the politics of the United States, and will indefinitely continue to be a dominate political force. Americans are uniquely influenced by the founding principles in the Declaration of Independence, and history has demonstrated that the natural rights of man provide a basis that shapes the political landscape of the United States. These rights draw significant parallels to the best qualities of humanitarian relief, which will ensure humanitarianism's existence in American policy. Furthermore, the public support that springs from the religious organizations within the United States ensures that democratic legislators will continue to incorporate humanitarianism into their politics. Additionally, chapter two demonstrated that there is strategic value to the United States' decision to provide aid that further guarantees American participation. The hypothesis that the United States would send more money to countries that they were close allies with was inconclusive, and it appears that America will provide relief so long as there is public and international support for it. This concept seems intuitive for democratic politics, but as the humanitarian works of Herbert Hoover demonstrated, when the American people support aid operations, both individuals and religious organizations will rally around a disaster. In the future, politicians and citizens can develop strategies to improve public awareness of a particular event that needs support. Further studies could examine how likely humanitarian relief operations are to gain public support, and could identify what specific factors contribute to an increase in awareness.

The next significant takeaway from this thesis revolves around the international competition between China and the United States. In the post-Cold War era, China has

stated that it wants to overtake America as the dominate player internationally.⁴¹⁶ To do this, they began their aggressive OBOR economic initiative, and consistently challenge the United States' global interests. Current news headlines constantly identify ways that China continues to challenge America's global influence, and at times, it seems like the United States is falling behind the efforts of China.⁴¹⁷ This thesis identifies at least one way that the United States will continue to outperform the PRC, with humanitarian relief operations. The United States and China have completely different approaches on how to address this unique policy, but they still both participate in them. It appears that China realizes that providing no relief would be extremely damaging to their global image, so they do the minimum to demonstrate that they care. Their level of commitment to relief does not match their current economic growth, and the international community is aware of this deficit. This has strong implications for China's soft power growth. The PRC will find it difficult to overtake the United States in soft power influence despite their nation-building programs because the world does not see them as a team player. Surprisingly, this approach goes against the "the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence" outlined in chapter three, specifically the principle of peaceful coexistence.⁴¹⁸ Unlike the United States, humanitarian relief operations are not yet ingrained into Chinese culture. A further study could research if this is due the priorities of the PRC, or if there is a deeper ideological difference.

416. Earl Conteh-Morgan, "The United States and China: Strategic Rivalry in Africa," *Insight Turkey* 20, no. 1 (2018): 43.

417. Ryan Pickrell, "China Could Be a Far More Formidable US Rival Than the Soviet Union Ever Was," *Business Insider*, last modified June 11, 2019. <https://www.businessinsider.com/china-could-be-tougher-challenge-for-us-than-soviet-union-2019-6>.

418. Miwa Hirono, *Exploring the Links Between Chinese Foreign Policy and Humanitarian Action: Multiple Interests, Processes, and Actors* (United Kingdom: Humanitarian Policy Group, 2018), 5.

The international community has announced that they expect China to do more with relief operations, but despite this, the PRC has failed to succumb to any international pressure. Additionally, the low number of resources provided to countries in need could lead to doubts about Chinese commitment to various countries. China's nation building programs are significant, but as it becomes increasingly evident that they are only interested in furthering the PRC's objectives, their loans and aid will become less tempting. The United States should take advantage of this weakness in Chinese foreign policy and continue to be a world leader in humanitarian relief operations. This will help America maintain its status as a world leader, and will positively influence other countries to continue to do the same.

Of course, there is a chance China's strategy pays off, and their booming economy compensates for this loss in soft power. An interesting thought is that if China surpasses the United States and becomes the greatest power, does that mean humanitarian aid will decline around the world? This balance shift would lead to new alliances, and new priorities that could greatly impact how relief operations are performed. Additionally, it is possible that the initial praise China receives from quickly arriving to disaster areas still provides them with enough soft power to negate any negative publicity after they leave. The only way that this could be determined is through future studies, which could examine this possibility by surveying at-risk disaster areas prior to any event, and then resurveying the same population after a disaster happens and China provides relief.

This thesis has a number of weaknesses that must be addressed. First and foremost, this is a case study review, and as such, many different factors can contribute to

its conclusions. This thesis mitigated this weakness by limiting the scope of which relief operations are used as case studies in chapters two and three. It selected only relief operations that occurred after a natural disaster, and did not analyze operations that were required due to war. Any additional research that is conducted on these topics should use different case studies to strengthen any conclusions. Furthermore, alternative explanations for analysis were acknowledged throughout the paper when they were appropriate. An additional weakness was that information on China's decision making is extremely limited due to the PRC's secretive policies. The data provided are public records and exist in previous research, but the results of this assessment on China is based on limited facts.

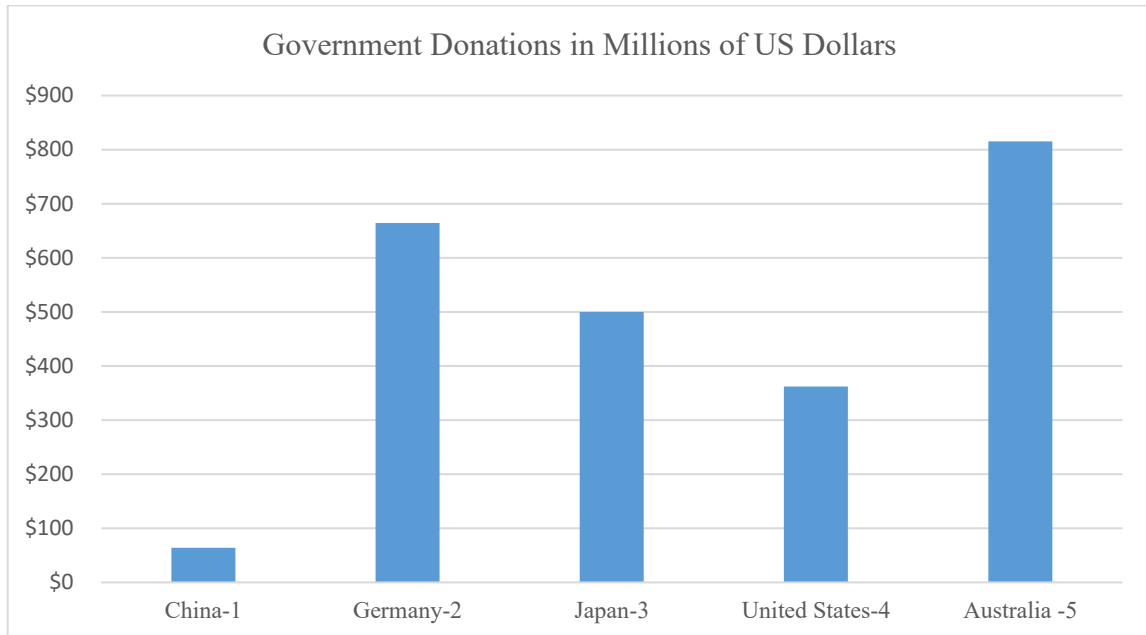
Ultimately, the decision for a country to participate in humanitarian relief operations varies from country to country. No one disaster is alike, and because of this, each response is different. This thesis tried to identify the trends within these complex decision making processes. Relief operations call upon the greatest qualities of mankind. They are a powerful political tool that enables a country and its politicians to achieve multiple objectives at once. A well-timed response to a disaster provides a country with a boost in international soft power, and is popular with the citizens back home. Natural disasters are inevitable, and it is through a gained understanding of relief operations that more lives will be saved.

References

Figure 1

	Countries				Total Indian Ocean Tsunami
	Indonesia	India	Sri Lanka	Japan	
Total Amount \$ provided by America	At least \$245 Million ¹	Not Available	\$134.6 Million ⁷	\$183.5 Million ¹⁰	\$857 Million ¹⁴
Total US Personnel Provided	Not Available	Not Available	Not Available	20,000 troops ¹¹	>15,000 troops ¹⁵
Total Amount \$ in Damages in Country	\$4.45 Billion ²	\$1.22 Billion ⁵	\$1.45 Billion ⁸	\$235 Billion ¹²	\$15.8 Billion ¹⁶
Total Amount of Displaced People	532,898 ⁴	647,599 ⁶	519,063 ⁹	>470,000 ¹³	1.7 Million ¹⁷
\$ provided Per Affected Person	\$459.75 per person	Not Available	\$259.31 per person	\$390.43 per person	\$504.11 per person
Personnel Provided Per Displaced Person	Not Available	Not Available	Not Available	1 American per 23.5 Displaced People	1 American per 113 Displaced People
<p>Sources:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Karl F. Inderfurth, "The 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami: One Year Report," <i>The Sigur Center Asia Papers</i>, (2005): 13. 2. Ibid., 15. 4. Ibid., 8. 5. Karl F. Inderfurth, "The 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami: One Year Report," <i>The Sigur Center Asia Papers</i>, (2005): 15. 6. Ibid., 8. 7. "US Tsunami Aid to Sri Lanka for 2005 Tops \$135 Million," <i>The Asian Tribune</i>. December 31, 2005, http://www.asiantribune.com/us-tsunami-aid-sri-lanka-2005-tops-135-million. 8. Karl F. Inderfurth, "The 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami: One Year Report," <i>The Sigur Center Asia Papers</i>, (2005): 15. 9. Ibid., 8. 10. James E. McGinley, Louis P. Kelley, and Laura M. Thurston Goodroe, "Soft Power the Limits of Humanitarian Intervention," <i>American Intelligence Journal</i> 30, no. 2 (2012): 34. 11. Eric Talmadge, "US Military in Japan," <i>NBC News</i>, last updated March 27, 2011, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/42289464/ns/world_news-asia_pacific/t/disaster-aid-puts-new-face-us-military-japan/#.W1TT0yOZPq0. 12. Bevan Hamilton, "Fukushima 5 Years Later: 2011 Disaster by the Numbers," <i>CBC News</i>, March 10, 2016, http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/5-years-after-fukushima-by-the-numbers-1.3480914. 13. Ibid. 14. Karl F. Inderfurth, "The 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami: One Year Report," <i>The Sigur Center Asia Papers</i>, (2005): 8. 15. Ibid., 13. 16. Ibid., 15. 17. Ibid., 8. 					

Figure 2
Indian Ocean Tsunami Donations



1. Rhoda Margesson, "Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunami: Humanitarian Assistance and Relief Operations," *Congressional Research Service*, February 10, 2005. ``1`

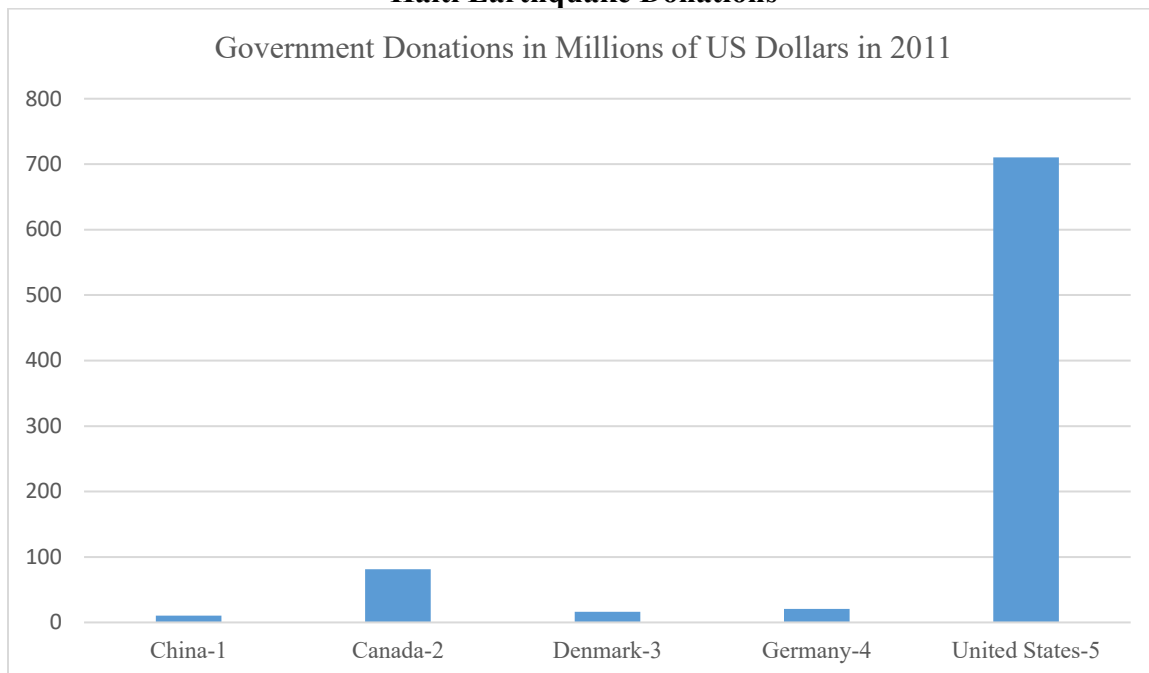
2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

Figure 3
Haiti Earthquake Donations



1. Rhoda Margesson and Maureen Taft-Morales, "Haiti Earthquake: Crises and Response," Congressional Research Service. May 6, 2010, 59.

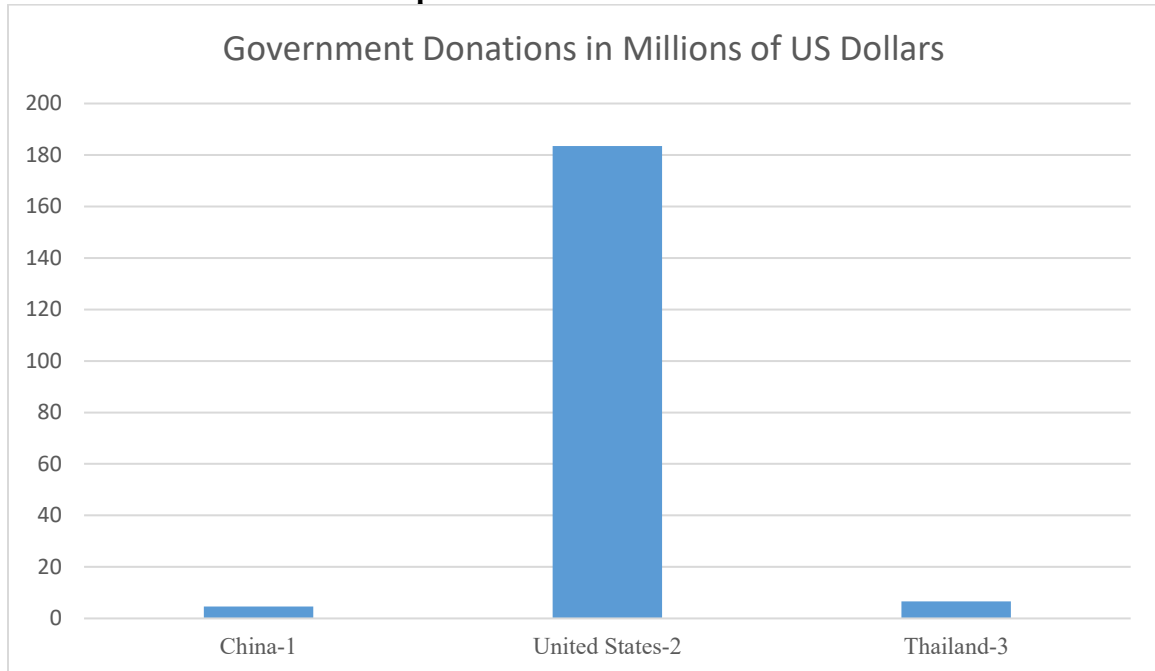
2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., 60.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., 63.

Figure 4
Japanese Tsunami Donations



1. “Aid and Rescue Offers for Japan Quake,” *Australian Broadcasting Company*, last updated March 15, 2011. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2011-03-15/aid-and-rescue-offers-for-japan-quake/2656562>.

2. James E. McGinley, Louis P. Kelley, and Laura M. Thurston Goodroe, “Soft Power the Limits of Humanitarian Intervention,” *American Intelligence Journal* 30, no. 2 (2012): 34.

3. “Aid and Rescue Offers for Japan Quake,” *Australian Broadcasting Company*, last updated March 15, 2011. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2011-03-15/aid-and-rescue-offers-for-japan-quake/2656562>.

Bibliography

- Adelman, Carol. "Haiti: Testing the Limits of Government Aid and Philanthropy." *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 17, no. 2 (2011): 89-97.
- "Aid Begins Flowing to Haiti." *CNN*. Last modified January 14, 2010.
<http://edition.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/americas/01/13/haiti.aid.response/index.html>.
- "Aid and Rescue Offers for Japan Quake." *Australian Broadcasting Company*. Last updated March 15, 2011. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2011-03-15/aid-and-rescue-offers-for-japan-quake/2656562>.
- "At A Glance- Countries Hit." *BBC News*. Last updated December 22, 2005.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/4126019.stm>.
- Attkisson, Sharyl. "Haiti Earthquake Aid: Nearly \$15 Billion in Donations." *CBS Evening News*. Last modified April 22, 2010.
<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/haiti-earthquake-aid-nearly-15-billion-in-donations/>.
- Bajpae, Chietigj. "China-India: Regional Dimensions of the Bilateral Relationship." *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 9, no. 4 (2015): 108-145.
- Barboza, David. "China Passes Japan as Second-Largest Economy." *New York Times*. Last modified August 15, 2010.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/16/business/global/16yuan.html>.
- Barnett, Michael and Janice Gross Stein. *Sacred Aid: Faith and Humanitarianism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Belloni, Roberto. "The Trouble with Humanitarianism." *Review of International Studies* 33, no. 3 (2007): 451-474.
- Bergman, Justin. "Setting Rivalry Aside: China Responds to Japan's Plight." *Time*. Last modified March 14, 2011.
<http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2058697,00.html>.
- Bernard, Eddie. "Tsunamis: Are We Underestimating the Risk?." *Oceanography* 25, no. 2 (2012): 208-218.
- Beveridge, Albert J. "In Support of an American Empire." Speech given on January 9, 1900. <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/in-support-of-an-american-empire/>.

- Beveridge, Albert J. "March of the Flag." Speech given on September 16, 1898.
<http://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/beveridge-march-of-the-flag-speech-text/>.
- Buerk, Roland. "Japan Earthquake: Tsunami Hits North-East." *BBC News*. Last updated March 11, 2011. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-12709598>.
- Bush, George W. Address January 3, 2005. <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/infocus/tsunami/>.
- Choi, Seung-Whan. "What Determines US Humanitarian Intervention." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 30, no. 2 (2013): 121-139.
- Conteh-Morgan, Earl. "The United States and China: Strategic Rivalry in Africa." *Insight Turkey* 20, no. 1 (2018): 39-52.
- "Country Profile: Indonesia." Library of Congress – Federal Research Division. December 2004. <https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/cs/profiles/Indonesia.pdf>.
- Czezbowski, Aditi Surie von. "Humanitarianism: Histories, Erasures, Repetitions." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 3, no 3 (2017): 614-619.
- Damon, Arwa and Brent Swails. "China and The United States Face Off in Djibouti as the World Powers Fight for Influence in Africa." *CNN*. Last modified May 27, 2019. <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/05/26/africa/china-belt-road-initiative-djibouti-intl/index.html>.
- "Declaration of Independence." *U.S. History.org*. July 4th, 1776.
<http://www.ushistory.org/declaration/document/>.
- "Delivering the Aid." *BBC News*. Last updated September 10, 2008.
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/world/04/asia_quake/relief_effort/html/3.stm.
- Dilanian, Ken and Washington Bureau. "U.S. Military, Aid Teams Headed for Japan." *Los Angeles Times*. Last updated March 12, 2011.
<http://www.latimes.com/world/sc-dc-japan-quake-us-relief-20110313-story.html>.
- "Disaster Planning and Policies: Session 2: U.S. Disaster Policies: History and Institutions." *FEMA*. Accessed August 12, 2019.
https://training.fema.gov/hiedu/docs/dpp/disaster%20plan-policies%20-%20session%20no%202%20-%20history%20and%20institutions_fema%20course.pdf.
- "Election Results 2008." *The New York Times*. Last modified December 9, 2008.
<https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2008/results/president/votes.html>.

- Etzioni, Amitai. "Is China A Responsible Stakeholder?." *International Affairs* 87, no. 3 (2011): 539-533.
- Fassin, Didier. "The Predicament of Humanitarianism." *Qui Parle: Critical Humanities and Social Sciences* 22, no. 1 (2013): 33-48.
- Feickert, Andrew. "Japan 2011 Earthquake: U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) Response." Congressional Research Service. June 2, 2011. 1-10.
- George Jr., James. "Another Chance: Herbert Hoover and World War II Relief." *Diplomatic History* 16, no. 3 (1992): 389-407.
- "Giant Waves Damage S Asia Economy." *BBC News*. Last updated December 28, 2004. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4127433.stm>.
- Gibbons, Helen and Guy Gelfenbaum. "Astonishing Wave Heights Among the Findings of an International Tsunami Survey Team on Sumatra." *United States Geological Survey*. Last updated March, 2005. <https://soundwaves.usgs.gov/2005/03/>.
- "Haiti." *USAID*. Last modified October 26 2018. <https://www.usaid.gov/haiti>.
- "Haiti Earthquake Fast Facts." *CNN*. Last modified December 27, 2018. <https://edition.cnn.com/2013/12/12/world/haiti-earthquake-fast-facts/index.html>.
- Hamilton, Bevan. "Fukushima 5 Years Later: 2011 Disaster by the Numbers." *CBC News*, March 10, 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/5-years-after-fukushima-by-the-numbers-1.3480914>.
- "Herbert Hoover." *The White House*. Accessed on June 4, 2019. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/herbert-hoover/>.
- Hilsum, Lindsey. "Re-Enter the Dragon: China's New Mission in Africa." *Review of African Political Economy* 32, no. 104/105 (2005): 419-425.
- Hirono, Miwa. *Exploring the Links Between Chinese Foreign Policy and Humanitarian Action: Multiple Interests, Processes, and Actors*. United Kingdom: Humanitarian Policy Group, 2018.
- Holmes, John. "Humanitarian Response in the 21st Century." *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 17, no. 2 (2001): 113-121.
- Inderfurth, Karl F. "The 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami: One Year Report." *The Sigur Center Asia Papers*, (2005): 1-40.
- Jain, B.M.. "Upward Graph in Strategic Ties Between India and the United States: Implications for Asian Security Architecture." *Indian Journal of Asian Affairs* 29,

no. 1 (2016), 1-16.

“Japan Tsunami: Wave Heights – March 11, 2011.” NOAA. Accessed July 22, 2018.
<https://sos.noaa.gov/datasets/japan-tsunami-wave-heights-march-11-2011/>.

Jeanson, Glen. *Herbert Hoover: A Life*. New York: Berkley, 2016.

Johnston, Eric. “Operation Tomodachi a Huge Success, But was it a One-Off?.” *Japan Times*. Last updated March 3, 2012.
<https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2012/03/03/national/operation-tomodachi-a-huge-success-but-was-it-a-one-off/#.W1U0OiOZOu4>.

Kalimuddin, Mikail and David Anderson. “Soft Power in China’s Security Strategy.” *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 12, no. 3 (2018): 114-141.

Kull, Steven. “American Public Support for Foreign Aid in the Age of Trump.” *Brookings*. Last updated July 31, 2017.
<https://www.brookings.edu/research/american-public-support-for-foreign-aid-in-the-age-of-trump/>.

Kyodo. “China Offers US\$3 Million in Humanitarian Aid to Flood-hit North Korea.” *South China Morning Post*. Last modified November 2, 2016.
<https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2042311/china-offers-us3-million-humanitarian-aid-flood-hit>.

Labbe, Jeremie. “Defining the Boundaries of the Humanitarian Enterprise.” Report International Peace Institute, 2012.

Laqua, Daniel. “Inside the Humanitarian Cloud.” *Journal of Modern European History* 12, no. 2 (2014): 175-185.

Larson, Alan P., “Response of the U.S. Government and the International System to the Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunamis.” Testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee given on February 10, 2005. <https://2001-2009.state.gov/e/rm/2005/42173.htm>.

Liang, Wei. “China’s Soft Power in Africa: Is Economic Power Sufficient?.” *Asian Perspective* 36, no. 4 (2012): 667-692.

Lim, Louisa. “China Acts Fast in Aiding Japan Post-Earthquake.” *NPR*. Last modified March 15, 2011. <https://www.npr.org/2011/03/15/134567659/china-acts-fast-in-aiding-japan-post-earthquake>.

Lincoln, Abraham. “A Question of Veracity.” Speech given in Chicago, Illinois, July 10, 1858. <http://www.mrlincolnanfreedom.org/pre-civil-war/house-divided-speech/speech-at-chicago-july-10-1858/>.

- Lincoln, Abraham. "Speech and Springfield, Illinois." Speech given in Springfield, Illinois, June 26 1857.
<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/l/lincoln/lincoln2/1:438?rgn=div1;view=fulltext>.
- Lincoln, Abraham. "Annual Message to Congress: Concluding Remarks." Speech given in Washington D.C., December 1, 1862.
<http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/congress.htm>.
- Lunstead, Jeffrey. "The United States' Role in Sri Lanka's Peace Process 2002-2006." *The Asian Foundation*, (2007): 1-41.
- Lyon, Alynna J. and Chris J. Dolan. "American Humanitarian Intervention: Toward a Theory of Coevolution." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3, no. 1 (2007): 46-78.
- "M 9.1 – Near the East Coast of Honshu, Japan." *United States Geological Survey*. Accessed July 22, 2018.
https://earthquake.usgs.gov/earthquakes/eventpage/official20110311054624120_30#executive.
- Margesson, Rhoda. "Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunami: Humanitarian Assistance and Relief Operations." *Congressional Research Service*. February 10, 2005.
- Margesson, Rhoda and Maureer Taft-Morales. "Haiti Earthquake: Crises and Response." *Congressional Research Service*. May 6, 2010.
- "Magnitude 9.1 – Off Coast of Northern Sumatra." *United States Geological Survey*. Accessed July 22, 2018.
<https://web.archive.org/web/20120817004055/http://earthquake.usgs.gov/earthquakes/eqinthenews/2004/us2004slav/>.
- McGinley, James E., Louis P. Kelley, and Laura M. Thurston Goodroe. "Soft Power the Limits of Humanitarian Intervention." *American Intelligence Journal* 30, no. 2 (2012): 34-38.
- Medeiros, Evan. "China's Expanding Diplomatic Toolkit." In *China's International Behavior: Activism, Opportunism, and Diversification*. RAND Corporation, 2009.
- Merriam, Allen. "Racism in the Expansionist Controversy of 1898-1900." *Phylon* 39, no. 4 (1978): 369-380.
- Meyers, Jessica and Barbara Demick. "North Korea's Deadly Floods Undermine the Nation's Projection of Power." *Los Angeles Times*. Last modified September 15, 2016. <https://www.latimes.com/world/asia/la-fg-north-korea-flooding-20160915-snap-story.html>.

- “Millions of Stricken Japanese Lack Water, Food, Heat.” *NPR*. Last modified March 14, 2011. <https://www.npr.org/2011/03/18/134527591/millions-of-stricken-japanese-lack-water-food-heat>.
- Moroney, Jennifer, Stephanie Pezard, Laurel Miller, Jeffrey Engstrom, and Abby Doll. “The Great East Japan Earthquake/Operation Tomodachi.” In *Lessons for the Department of Defense Disaster Relief Efforts in the Asia-Pacific Region*. RAND Corporation, 2013.
- Murphy, Ann Marie. “US Rapprochement with Indonesia: From Problem State to Partner.” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 32, no. 3 (2012): 362-387.
- Nash, George H.. *The Life of Herbert Hoover: Master of Emergencies, 1917-1918*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996.
- Nye Jr., Joseph S. “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power.” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (2008): 94-109.
- Obama, Barack. Address March 11, 2011. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/03/11/statement-president-earthquake-japan-and-resulting-tsunami-warning-throu>.
- Osondu-Oti, Adaora. “China and Africa: Human Rights Perspective.” *Africa Development* 41, no. 1 (2016):49-80.
- Patel Ronak D, and Hannah B. Wild. “To Do No Harm: Humanitarian Aid in Conflict Demands Political Engagement.” *Disaster Medicine and Public Health Preparedness* (2018): 1-2.
- Pickrell, Ryan. “China Could Be a Far More Formidable US Rival Than the Soviet Union Ever Was.” *Business Insider*. Last modified June 11, 2019. <https://www.businessinsider.com/china-could-be-tougher-challenge-for-us-than-soviet-union-2019-6>.
- “Police Countermeasures and Damage Situations Associated with 2011 Tohoku District – Off the Pacific Ocean Earthquake.” *National Police Agency of Japan*. June 8, 2018. https://www.npa.go.jp/news/other/earthquake2011/pdf/higaijokyo_e.pdf.
- Poster, Alexander. “Gentle War: Famine Relief, Politics, and Privatization in Ethiopia, 1983-1986.” *Diplomatic History* 36, no. 2 (2012). 399-425.
- “Press Conference by Prime Minister Naoto Kan.” *Prime Minister Japan and His Cabinet*. April 1, 2011. http://japan.kantei.go.jp/kan/statement/201104/01kaiken_e.html.
- Ramachandran, Vijaya and Julie Walz. “Haiti: Where Has All the Money Gone?.”

- Journal of Haitian Studies* 21, no. 1 (2015): 26-65.
- Ranganathan, Bharat. "On Helping One's Neighbor." *The Journal of Religious Ethics* 40, no. 4 (2012): 653-677.
- Rappleye, Charles. *Herbert Hoover in the White House*. Simon & Schuster, New York, 2016.
- Reilly, James. "The Curious Case of China's Aid to North Korea." *Asian Survey* 54, no. 6 (2014): 1158-1183.
- Saleh, Ian. "Japan Earthquake and Tsunami: US Response and Impact." *Washington Post*. Published March 11, 2011. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/03/11/AR2011031104672.html>.
- Shlaes, Amity. *Coolidge*. Harper Collins: New York, 2013.
- Shuja, Sharif. "The United States and India." *International Journal on World Peace* 23, no. 2 (2006) 35-47.
- Simelane, Thokozani and R. Managa. *Belt and Road Initiative: Alternative Development Path for Africa*. Oxford: African Books Collective, 2018.
- Smith, Anthony L. "A Glass Half Full: Indonesia-U.S. Relations in the Age of Terror." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 25, no. 3 (2003): 449-472.
- Smith, Richard Norton. *An Uncommon Man: The Triumph of Herbert Hoover*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984.
- Stephenson, Max. "Bridging the Organizational Divide: A Comparative Institutional Analysis of the United States and International Humanitarian Service Delivery Structures." *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 18, no. 3 (2007): 209-224.
- Stromberg, David. "Natural Disasters, Economic Development, and Humanitarian Aid." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 21, no. 3 (2007): 199-222.
- Syed, Saira. "Japan Quake: Infrastructure Damage Will Delay Recovery." *BBC News*. Last updated March 17, 2011. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-12756379>.
- Talmadge, Eric. "US Military in Japan." *NBC News*. Last updated March 27, 2011. http://www.nbcnews.com/id/42289464/ns/world_news-asia_pacific/t/disaster-aid-puts-new-face-us-military-japan/#.W1TT0yOZPq0.
- Thaut, Laura C.. "The Role of Faith in Christian Faith-Based Humanitarian Agencies: Constructing the Taxonomy." *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and*

- Nonprofit Organizations* 20, no. 4 (2009): 319-350.
- Thompson, James. "Humanitarian Performance and the Asian Tsunami." *The Drama Review* 55, no. 1, (2011): 70-83.
- Tubilewicz, Czeslaw. "The Politics of Compassion: Examining A Divided China's Humanitarian Assistance to Haiti." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 12, no. 3 (2012): 449-481.
- "U.N. Official Slams U.S. as 'Stingy' Over Aid." *The Washington Times*. Last updated December 28, 2004.
<https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2004/dec/28/20041228-122330-7268r/>.
- "US Tsunami Aid to Sri Lanka for 2005 Tops \$135 Million." *The Asian Tribune*. December 31, 2005, <http://www.asiantribune.com/us-tsunami-aid-sri-lanka-2005-tops-135-million>.
- "U.S. Ups Tsunami Aid from \$35 Million to \$350 Million." *CNN*. Last updated December 31, 2004. <http://www.cnn.com/2004/US/12/31/us.aid/>.
- "US Giving for Japan Disaster Reaches \$730 Million." *Japan Center for International Exchange*. Last updated March, 2014.
<http://2011disaster.jcie.org/philanthropy/usgiving-2014/>.
- Walling, Carrie Booth. "Human Rights Norms, State Sovereignty, and Humanitarian Intervention." *Human Rights Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (2015): 383-413.
- Wesley, Michael. "Japan: From Passive Partner to Active Ally." in *Global Allies: Comparing US Alliances in the 21st Century*. (ANU Press, 2017): 15-30.
- Williamson, Jamie A. "Using Humanitarian Aid to 'Win Hearts and Minds': A Costly Failure?." *International Review of the Red Cross* 93 no. 884 (2011): 1035-1061.
- Wilson, Woodrow. "What is Progress." In *The New Freedom: Chapter 2*, 1913.
<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/what-is-progress/>.
- Woods, Ngaire. "Whose Aid? Whose Influence? China, Emerging Donors and the Silent Revolution in Developmental Assistance." *International Affairs* 84, no 6 (2008): 1205-1221.
- Zhao, Hong. "China's Belt and Road Initiative and ASEAN." *China: An International Journal* 17, no. 2. (2019):127-147.

Curriculum Vita

Holden Duane Simmonds was born on June 14, 1989 in Fort Worth Texas. He is a 2008 graduate from Georgetown High School in Georgetown, Texas. Upon graduation he attended Greystone Military Academy Preparatory School at Schreiner University in Kerrville, Texas and earned his appointment to the United States Air Force Academy. In 2013 he was a Distinguished Graduate from the Academy and received a Bachelor's of Science in Behavioral Sciences. Holden Simmonds is still a commissioned officer in the United States Air Force and serves as an Aircraft Commander on the C-130J.